National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. WITHOUT CONCEALMENT...WITHOUT COMPROMISE. EDMUND QUINCY, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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Selections.

LETTER FROM THEODORE PARKER TO THE JERRY RESCUE CELEBRATION.

WEST NEWTON, Sept. 25, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for the honour you have done me, by your invitation to join in celebrating the rescue of Jerry from the hands of the Government kidnappers, in the city of Syracuse. I regret that I shall not be able to be present with you on that occasion, and to say how much I honour the deed, the men who did it, and the motive which led thereto.

The regular forms of judicial procedure are a very important part of the defence of public and private liberty. But I respect the statutes which men have made only so far as they embody justice, and conserve the inalienable rights of men. When statutes fail thereof, or go beyond that, I have no respect for them, more than for the dictate of an irregular mob, or the command of a regular despot. An unjust statute is not only morally void—it is positively wicked to obey it or allow it to be enforced, to the injury of innocent men. It is my duty to resist a wicked law by all expedients that are naturally just. For if there is a God, who is the Author of man and of the Universe, then man owes allegiance to that God, to the laws of his own nature, and to the constitution of the universe. This allegiance must override all claims of any human legislation—all claims of King Monarch, or of King Many. So far, therefore, as the statutes of men are just, conformable to the moral nature of man, and the constitution of the Universe, they are entitled to obedience by the citizens of the country where they are made and known. But so far as they are unjust, they have no claim to be obeyed; it is a sin to obey them. Who gave me the right to do wrong? I am bound to obey every natural law of God, writ in the Universe, as much as if it were proclaimed to me by an audible voice of the Infinite, speaking at Sinai or Monadnock. Everything is amenable to the Infinite God.

A government is a body with limited jurisdiction, and holds its office subject to the natural, universal, moral Law of God, which is the norm of all governments, and the absolute rule of conduct to all mankind. The government of the United States is still further limited by the Federal Constitution, which is the conventional norm of this government in particular—the rule of conduct, therefore, provided by the people of America. There are, therefore, two checks for the American government; the Constitution of the Universe, made by God, and the constitution of the United States, made by the people thereof. So far as the government violates the first, it loses all natural claim to obedience; if the last, it loses all conventional claim thereto.

Now, the present Government of the United States—I mean the men who enacted the Fugitive Slave Bill, and tried to execute it—have not only therein violated the Constitution of the United States, but have violated also the Constitution of the Universe, and practically assumed unlimited authority, by claiming the right to set the Law of God at defiance. Some members of the Government have proudly and publicly declared that there was no law of God higher than the Fugitive Slave Bill. Clergymen, greedy for their recompense, have been found eager to sanction this claim of Government—to do it in the name of God! It has always been so; it is not open speculative Atheists that are most dangerous to the welfare of mankind, but clergymen who, in the name of Christ preach up despotism, and seek atheistically to preach down the natural law of God.

Under such two-fold misconduct, cases may happen in which there is no defence for individual freedom, but to resist a wicked statute with the strong hand. For instance: (1) the National Legislature makes an unjust and unconstitutional statute; (2) next, the Judiciary, which is composed of the creatures of Government, appointed for none but political merits, declares the statute constitutional; (3) then the Executive seeks to enforce the penalty of the statute upon some man who has been accused of violating it. He is to be tried by a jury. But the Government judges allow no man to serve on the jury, unless he professes—(1) that he thinks the statute constitutional; (2) that he has no moral objection to inflict the penalty upon a man who violates it; and (3) that he will take that for 'law' which the 'Court' declares such. In such a case, there is no protection for a man whom the Government sees fit to destroy, except in the direct interference of the people to prevent the contemplated wrong. For without that, the Government may be able to make any statute it pleases, and execute it on every man it may see fit to seize.

In the case of a man kidnapped by the officials of Government, under the Fugitive Slave Bill, the peril is greater yet. He is to be 'tried' before an official, who is not even a creature of the Government, but only a tool of the Court, a creature's creature. Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Buffalo, have shown that the Court spawns a toad that

'Out-venoms all the worms of Nile.'

That tool of the Court is to decide, summarily, whether the person brought before him shall henceforth be treated as a Man, or as a Beast; for the manly decision, he receives but half the sum offered as a bribe for the beastly sentence. In this case, the Government, violating the Law of God and the Convention of men, proceeds to inflict the greatest possible outrage on a man and on his posterity forever: of course, it makes use of such instruments as have been 'conceived in sin, and have shapen themselves into further iniquity—men born and bred for the consummation of wickedness. Now, when an innocent man is brought into the fangs of these creatures, and there is no other way for his escape, it becomes the Duty of the freemen about him to rescue him, as they would from the jaws of a wolf, using any expedients that are just. A community that will not do this, is unworthy the name of freemen.

I rejoice that the people of Syracuse took Jerry out of the clutches of the kidnappers; that, in the name of justice, they trod under foot a bill which violates the Constitution of the United States, the sacred and venerable customs of the Common Law, the principles of all Morality, of all Religion, and which sets at nought the Eternal Justice of the Blessed God.

My dear sir, Boston had a glorious history; it was illuminated by many a noble deed. Great men have stood as Initials to every chapter of her ancient fame; you read them as you run. Well, sir, I had once hoped that Boston would add to her ancient renown, by the continuous violation of the Fugitive Slave Bill; but she forgot the granite that is builded into monuments at Lexington, at Concord, and at Bunker Hill; she forgot the honour that her citizens and their neighbours had won, and the services they had rendered to mankind, by the destruction of tea, illegally taxed, and by their constant resistance to oppression; she forgot all this, and thought only of the granite built into Ware-houses, or Banks, and of the profits of her trade! With few exceptions, the politicians of Boston, the capitalists of Boston, the merchants of Boston, and, of course, the mouthpieces of all these three, desired to enforce the Fugitive Slave Bill in this city, and degrade a man into the condition of a beast. The government of Boston desired the same thing. 'It is a law,' quoth they, 'and so must be put in force.' It was put in force—in a Court House girt with emblematic chains—by two hundred policemen, armed with bludgeons and naked swords, protected by armed soldiers, the celebrated Sims Brigade. It was enforced, to the delight of your native town! Elegant women made no concealment of their joy that the 'American Athens' had endeavoured to make a man a mere beast of burthen. When Boston had succeeded so well in making women into mere beasts of prey, the delight was timely and consistent. Clergymen publicly thanked God for the event; 'ministers of religion' came out in defence of kidnappers and kidnapping, for 'the law must be enforced.' But at that time, there were in Boston fifteen hundred rum-shops in full, baneful and public operation, well known to the authorities of the place, every one of them in direct violation of the law of the land! Austrian Haynau, for scourging a lady, naked, in his camp, has himself run the gauntlet of Christendom, and been brought to the gates of death in the metropolis of both England and Belgium. But he denies that he did that deed. Boston cannot deny her act of shame; posterity will be her earthly judge.

You know, sir, very well, the one great influence which determined Boston to forget her former history, and to 'conquer her prejudices' in favour of the Rights of man and the Laws of God: rather strong 'prejudices' they were, too, in the days of Hancock and Adams. You know the reward Boston has had from the Slave Power, for her servility thereto; you know the pay which the South has given to the great Northern advocate of Southern mischief; you know the disposition he has since shown, and the 'support' he now rallies about him. He was never limited to such retainers before! I wish the Muse of History could blot out the record of this man's fate and fall, and human pity could assuage the grief of greatness fallen to such a sad estate. But no. Even Boston turns off the mighty man whose conscience she corrupted and lulled to sleep in her lap, and sold herself rules to buy the talents she made venal long ago. It must be so—

> 'Tis highest Heaven's command
> That guilty aims should sordid paths pursue;
> That what ensnares the heart should maim the hand,
> And Virtue's worthless foes be false to glory too.'

Sir, in a time of trial, your townsmen stood the rack. I think they had some preaching to encourage their faith, from a non-resistant, whose piece never hangs fire in the time of battle; who loves men because he loves God, and is a minister of Piety and Humanity, not of Priestcraft. In the name of Justice, the Syracuseans trod down the Fugitive Slave Bill. In the name of God, they set the tools of Government at defiance, and their brother at liberty.

I say: Well done! Do it again, if need be. Do it continually, till the American Government shall understand that though they make wicked statutes in the name of 'Union,' and though the Clergy, in the names of Religion, should call on all men to obey them, yet the People, in the name of man and the name of God, will violate any such wicked device, and bring it to nought. Then the Church will pipe a different tune, and the State dance after a quite other fashion. There is no adequate security for the welfare of the people, but a firm, religious determination always to do right, and never to do wrong—always to welcome justice from the Government, but never to suffer injustice from its hands.

Hitherto I have not seen much to lead me to think very well of New York politicians, with here and there a memorable exception. But I am glad to see cause to think so well of the New York Men—yes, and Women, too—for I don't forget 'the thirty pieces of silver.' I believe you have, on the whole, the best State Constitution in the Union. Now I think I see where it came from, and how you got it. I never knew before.

I am sure Posterity will honour the deed you wish to commemorate. I hope you will meet Posterity half way, and show how it may be done. It is a good thing to honour ancient heroism; a good thing also to honour such as equal or surpass it now.

> 'Ye loud adorers of departed fame
> Who warm at Scipio's worth, or Tully's name;
> Ye, that in fancied vision can admire
> The sword of Brutus, and the Theban Lyre;
> Wrapped in historic ardour, who adore
> Each classic haunt and well-remembered shore,
> Where valour tuned, amid her chosen throng,
> The Thracian trumpet, and the Spartan song;
> See Roman fire in Hampden's bosom swell,
> And fate and freedom in the shafts of Tell—
> Say, ye loud zealots to the worth of yore,
> Hath Valour left the world, to live no more?
> No more shall Brutus bid a Tyrant die,
> And sternly smile, with vengeance in his eye?
> Hampden no more, when suffering Freedom calls,
> Encounter fate, and [illegible]
> Nor Tell disclose, through peril and alarm,
> The might that slumbers in a freeman's arm?
> —Yes! in that generous cause, forever strong,
> The patriot's virtue and the poet's song
> Still, as the tide of ages rolls away,
> Shall charm the world, unconscious of decay.'

Respectfully and gratefully yours,
THEODORE PARKER.

SAMUEL J. MAY.

COMPETITION OF FREE LABOUR WITH SLAVE LABOUR.

SEVERAL papers of a philanthropic character have been read in the various sections of the British Association during the week. One of the most interesting of these is by Professor Hancock—"Are there any impediments to the Competition of Free Labour with Slave Labour in the West Indies?" The principal conclusions to which Prof. Hancock came were—1. That, as a conclusion of moral philosophy, it was shameful to maintain Slavery for a single hour. 2. That, as a conclusion of political economy, emancipation should be immediate, and not gradual. This position Prof. Hancock proved by the history of the emancipation in the West Indies, where the apprenticeship system turned out a failure; and remarked that, where emancipation cannot be immediate, it is the duty of those who see that the change is inevitable to make such previous arrangements that the development of free labour may arise as soon as possible. 3. That auxiliary measures, such as education, reform in the courts of law, especially respecting the tenure and sale of land, are essential in order that the blessings of emancipation may be exhibited on the community at large. Prof. Hancock showed that these auxiliary precautions had not been taken. Grants had sometimes been made in favour of education, but as soon as any pressure came they were withdrawn. He also dwelt on the importance of permanently fixing the law of property in land. 4. That the loss of property consequent on emancipation should not be thrown on the slaveholders, but on the community at large, inasmuch as the whole British people had been responsible for Slavery. Accordingly, the slave-owners were compensated, partly in money, and partly in differential duties, which had not yet quite ceased. 5. That free labour requires no protection to enable it to compete with slave labour. In Slavery there is not the same division of labour as in Freedom. Again, the invention of machines proceeded from free labour, freemen desiring to economise labour. The consequence was, that more labour was wasted in Slavery than in freedom to produce equal results. If free labour could not compete successfully with slave labour, he feared that the moral question would be in great danger. 6. That the allegations about the negroes in the West Indies demanding too high wages, are untrue, and the imputations on their character unfounded. It turned out when inquiries were made into the facts, that wages were very low; and Professor Hancock quoted authorities to show that wages were at such rates as 6d., 4d. and 3d. per day—so that if the negroes had not provision grounds, they would often be in great straits. 7. That the state of the West Indies did not show the impracticability of free labour competing with Slavery, but shows, on the contrary, the folly of the laws which have been passed by the Colonial Legislatures, the folly of the short-sighted selfishness of the planters, and the folly of those philanthropists who, instead of seeking the removal of those laws, demand a monopoly for the planters. In arguing this head at length, Prof. Hancock touched upon the following points: the bankrupt state of the West India proprietors before the emancipation—the evils of Coolie immigration—the unjust taxes on the labouring classes in the West Indies, the unjust restriction on their progress—the system of oppressive laws by which a labourer is condemned where a proprietor escapes—and the unsatisfactory tenure of land in the matter of summary ejectment, and want of lease, and the impediments to the transfer of landed property.

The Archbishop of Dublin referred to a plan of emancipation proposed, about twenty years since, by the present Bishop of Norwich. It was to this effect—that an *ad valorem* tax should be put upon slaves, the owners fixing their value, and being obliged to part with them at that value, if the Government wished to purchase. This, it was supposed, would induce the owners to prepare them for freedom, and promote emancipation. Professor Fowler, of Massachusetts, said he would be glad to know what is really the value of West India property now, as compared with its value before emancipation; for he had heard proprietors state that it had greatly fallen. It had been stated that Slavery had originated in avarice, and it had been thought probable that avarice would lead to it abolition, inasmuch as it would be more profitable to use free than slave labour. He thanked God that there was no Slavery either in Massachusetts, or in his native State, Connecticut. In both of them Slavery had been found unprofitable. He then referred to the case of Fairfax County Virginia, where under Slavery property had greatly fallen in value. Recourse had then been had to free white labour, and the consequence was, that it was found profitable with it to cultivate property which had been before unprofitable. In this way, self-interest might perhaps lead to the extinction of Slavery, though he doubted whether white labour might be available in the West Indies and some districts of America. Prof. Hancock replied to several of the objections raised. In reference to the argument, that free labour could not compete with that of slaves, he referred to the fact that the free producers of sugar were beating the slave sugar out of the market in the United Kingdom. In proof this, he referred to the last returns of the Board of Trade, which showed that the importation of free sugar [illegible] while the importation of slave sugar was [illegible] sugar falling off. Thus, from British possessions in the west, in the last year, we took for home consumption 1,618,000 cwts., against 950,000 the previous year. There was also an increase from the Mauritius; and from our East Indian possessions an advance from about 550,000 cwts. in 1851, to 780,000 in 1852; whilst, during the same time, the consumption of slave sugar had fallen off from 555,000 cwts. to 317,000.—(*London paper.*)

THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE.

WE have for some time kept silence on a subject which not long ago furnished an incessant topic of public discussion, and which is likely, perhaps, to be revived in private discourse by the stimulating picture of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The slave trade on the coast of Africa seemed to be mastering the energies of all the powerful nations combined for its suppression. So hopeless did our efforts appear, and so manifestly were they attended, not only with heavy losses to ourselves, but with increased misery to the victims of the traffic, that the removal of the preventive squadron and the substitution of some other agency were earnestly advocated. Even the Anti-Slavery Society itself—the very organ and exponent of British philanthropy—adopted this argument; our own views, as the reader will recollect, were expressed in conformity to such reasons; and so general were the convictions of the Legislature upon the point, that the continuance of the blockading system was only secured by an act of unusual arbitrariness on the part of the Government. Lord John Russell informed his supporters that if a vote adverse to the maintenance of the squadron was carried, the ministry would resign. The impending blow therefore was stopped, and the African blockade was continued, with an assurance on the part of its advocates that a few months' perseverance would at last reward us with success. The public must now be anxious to learn how far these prognostications have been verified.

In the last session, Mr. James Wilson procured a "return, as nearly as the same can be furnished, of the number of slaves embarked on the coast of Africa and landed in Cuba and Brazil in each year from 1842 to the latest dates to which the accounts extend." The reader will not fail to observe the qualification with which these figures are set forth. In point of fact, it must be next to impossible to ascertain with any correctness the particulars inquired for, but such intelligence is the best we can procure, and perhaps the relative proportions of each year's imports may be substantially given. The return extends from 1842 to 1851, both years inclusive, and thus offers a considerable field for survey. The chief [illegible] Brazil, which has always been the largest purchaser of human flesh. From 1842 to 1850 there were imported successively, year by year, into that country from Africa, the following batches of slaves: 17,435, 19,095, 22,849, 19,453, 50,324, 56,172, 60,000, 54,000, and 23,000. It will be observed from these figures that from 1842 to 1845 the slave traffic, though not apparently declining, was, at any rate, stationary, whereas, in 1846 it received an extraordinary impulse, which for four successive years nearly trebled its results. It is unnecessary to add that this increase coincided with those legislative acts which opened the British markets to Brazilian sugars. In 1850, however, though the sugar trade retained all its freedom, the importation of slaves fell to 23 000—scarcely one half its recent amount; and in the next year the returns were more remarkable still. According to the paper before us, the figures, which from 1846 to 1849 had ranged from 50,000 to 60,000, dropped in 1851 to 3,287! showing a decline in this nefarious traffic to less than one-fifth of the smallest importation previously known.

We have no reason to doubt the general accuracy of this statement, nor do we desire in any degree to diminish its force. It is of course notorious that the result has arisen, not from efficiency in our system of blockade, but from the resolution tardily, though it is said sincerely, taken by Brazil herself to make the prohibition of this traffic a reality. Still it may be argued that this decision would not have been adopted at Rio if England had given any proofs of weariness in the work of suppression: and though we do not assent to this view of the subject, we are not at present desirous of impugning it. We have warrant for believing that our unreasoning violence rather retarded than promoted these sage counsels of the Brazilian Government; but we are willing to take the facts as they stand, and to make the best, without question or cavil, of a result so satisfactory. It is enough for us to hope that Brazil is truly and earnestly exerting the resources of the State to prevent the importation of slaves, and certainly this return gives an extraordinary confirmation to the professions which have been recently made.

The share of Cuba in this detestable commerce, though large in proportion to its extent of territory, is absolutely much smaller than that of Brazil. The numbers of the slaves imported into this island during the ten years specified were respectively, 3,630, 8,000, 10,000, 1,300, 419, 1,450, 1,500, 8,700, 3,500, 5,000. It will be seen that these figures present a singular and not very explicable contrast to those extracted above from the Brazilian returns, and that they indicate some sources of encouragement or discouragement entirely peculiar. In 1844, the traffic was exceedingly large; the next year it suddenly decreased by more than four-fifths; and in 1846, the very year when our sugar bills gave such an impulse to the trade of Brazil, it declined to the lowest point, and almost, indeed, to a nominal extent. Neither did it recover itself in 1847, or 1848, when the Brazilian dealings were so large; while, on the other hand, now that Brazil seems really desisting from the traffic, Cuba shows a very considerate importation—an importation, indeed, surpassing for the first time that of her rival on the Southern continent.

We are not disposed to venture on any decided conclusions from the prospects thus disclosed. If the cordial co-operation of Brazil in the good work can be permanently secured, we shall be making a near approach to the reward of our labours, for the Brazilian traffic is far more important than that of Cuba, not to mention that the destinies of the latter Island appear just now to involve many possible conditions beyond our means of calculation. There is certainly a concurrence of indications in favour of Brazilian sincerity.

The Government of the country makes earnest professions, and its professions are apparently justified in a singular degree by the results. Of the accuracy of these returns we cannot, indeed, absolutely speak. We have marked with attention the reports periodically made from our African squadron, but though matters did certainly in many respects appear improved, we were not prepared for such an extraordinary falling off in the traffic as the figures before us evince. If things have gone this year as they went last year, the gross total of slaves exported from the coast cannot now exceed 6,000 or 7,000, a number wholly insufficient, we should imagine, to keep the trade in existence at all. The slave traffic demands large capital, swift sailing vessels, highly paid crews, depots on the coast, and organized connections in the interior of the country, all of which machinery can assuredly not be maintained by an exportation of eight or ten ship loads annually. If this most desirable consummation can be brought to pass, we shall not raise any question about the merits of the triumph. It will be quite sufficient, as we before remarked, to find the slave trade, somehow or other, actually extinct; but, if there is one point clearer than another from prospects before us, it is that the consent and co-operation of the trading States themselves furnish the only sure means of annihilating the traffic. Contraband commerce will always cease as soon as people resolve not to be smugglers, and the slave trade, which, as these tables show, rose and fell with variations altogether irrespective of our blockading squadron, sinks in what we trust is a permanent decline when once the prohibitive policy of Brazil has been fairly declared.—*London Times.*

SLAVERY EMANCIPATION IN VENEZUELA.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

I HEREWITH forward you a copy of the decree of the Senate and Chamber of Representatives of the Republic of Venezuela, passed nearly thirty years after the law of Colombia and Venezuela, published in your paper as [illegible] The [illegible] per cent. on ex-[illegible]

Article 17th. The duties of the local boards are:

1st. To elect a commissioner in each parish, to investigate and give notice of those who die, leaving property, according to the three cases of the 10th article.

2d. Collect, with activity and correctness, the manumission tax, in the spirit of the above-mentioned three cases.

3d. Order the proceeds to be delivered to the treasurer, with an exact account.

4th. At the end of every year to render an account of the manumission fund.

5th. Manumit the number of slaves appertaining to the county, according to the order of the Superior Board, and apply the funds remitted by them, in the case of deficit in the local funds.

6th. To take, every four years (through the agency of the parochial Commissioners), a census of the slaves in their county, and to take as a guide the civil and ecclesiastical census of the province.

7th. To co-operate with the government, through the medium of the Superior Board of Manumission, regarding the employments, trades, and professions of those who are manumitted according to the 6th [illegible] The manumission treasurer is entitled to 10th article.

Article 18th. The registrar, magistrate, or justice of peace, that may manage the wills, or estates *ab intestato*, comprehended in the 10th article, will inform the parochial commissioners and the first civil authority of the county of the name of the testator, the date of the will, and the date of the death of the intestate. The curate will give information to the local justice, of the names of those who die in his parish; the omission of this information will subject the registrar, magistrate or justice of peace to a fine equal to the amount due by the will of the deceased, or of one hundred dollars, if he died intestate.

Article 19th. The manumission of slaves will take place during Easter week in all the different provinces, by which time all the estimates relative to the Manumission Fund must be ready, or the deficit applied for, and ordered by the Governor of the province to be paid by the respective treasurers, so that the Boards of Manumission will have no difficulty in complying with their duties, according to the 15th article.

Article 20th. Those slaves who are to be manumitted, are to be selected by the respective boards of each county, preferring:

1st. The most aged.

2d. Those who are reputed to be the most honest and industrious, those of the testators or intestate property, that is in debt to the manumission fund, and can be covered by the value of one or more slaves. In case of there being no slaves in the county, and there be funds disposable, these are to be applied, by the Superior Board, to the liberation of slaves in other counties of the same province. The funds that may be disposable in a province that contains no slaves to be manumitted are to be appropriated by the government for the same purpose in other provinces.

Article 21st. The government will publish yearly,

1st. The names of those slaves who are manumitted in each province.

2d. The total amount of the manumission fund of the preceding year.

3d. And the deficit supplied from the public treasury.

Article 22d. As soon as Slavery is entirely extinguished throughout the territory of the State, the tax referred to in the 10th article will, as a matter of course, cease. In the mean time, however, no authority is allowed to apply any part of the product of said tax to any other purpose.

Article 23d. The law of the 21st of June, 1821, is repealed in all its parts, as also the decrees of the 28th of June, 1327, and the law of 2d of October, 1830.

DEBATE ON SLAVERY,

IN THE CONGREGATIONAL CONVENTION AT ALBANY.

WE stated, two or three weeks since, the action of the recent Congregational Convention, at Albany, on the subject of Slaveholding Churches; the debate attending it, which we copy below, from *The Independent*, will interest a large proportion of our readers.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, Oct. 7.

Dr. Peters made the report from the committee to whom was referred the resolution relating to the system and operations of the Am. Home Missionary Society.

He said the committee were unanimous in regard to a portion of their report, and divided upon the remainder. The portion in respect to which they agreed was as follows:

Report on the Operations of the American Home Missionary Society.

Your committee are unanimous in their approbation of the voluntary and unsectarian character of the Am. Home Missionary Society, and in the wisdom and efficiency with which its affairs have been conducted.

On the subject of the Society's relation to the Presbyterian and Congregational systems of Church Polity, your committee are of opinion that any disruption of present relations is unadvisable.

This committee express their belief that this Society has executed its trust toward both Congregational and Presbyterian churches with impartiality; and that any complaints on this head will be found to result from local interests, and not from the administrative policy of the Society.

On the subject of giving aid to slaveholding churches, the majority report the following:

Missions to Slaveholders.

On the subject of aid to slaveholding churches, the committee present the following:

Believing that those who, for their own advantage, hold and use their fellow-men as slaves, violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not to be received into Christian churches, it is our opinion that churches which recognise such slaveholders as worthy of membership ought not to receive aid from the American Home Missionary Society; and, therefore, in dispensing the funds with which it is intrusted by the Christian public, it should give aid to such churches only as refuse such recognition.

The committee consisted of fifteen members, nine of whom presented the foregoing report, and six approved of the following form, and recommended it as a substitute:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to churches in slaveholding States, in the support of such ministers only as shall endeavour, with simplicity of purpose, and with a wise discretion in their ministry, so to preach the Gospel, and commend it to the hearts and consciences of men, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in mitigating the oppressions of Slavery, and leading to its ultimate abolition.

Dr. Peters said those were the reports, and if they were accepted he would make some remarks upon the minority report.

The reports were accepted.

Dr. Peters then moved the adoption of the report of the minority, and said: The subject referred to the Committee was that of giving aid to churches in slaveholding States. I object to that report of the majority because its title is a misnomer, in speaking of "slaveholding churches." Then I object to the report itself. It first contains a declaration of faith on the subject of Slavery, which I think we are not called on to make in this assembly, and I think that it is undignified and out of place to be made here. "Believing that those who hold their fellow-men as slaves violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not to be received into Christian churches," &c. I think that declaration is unconcregational, and that it is inconsistent for this assembly to go into the interior of Christian churches and say on what conditions persons shall be received. We are not competent to act on that subject. There is no call for the expression of our views.

Again, it is stated that "it is our opinion that churches which recognise slaveholders as worthy of membership ought not to receive aid from the American Home Missionary Society." The ground of granting or withholding aid should be, the character of the minister whom you propose to send, and not the character of the churches. The opinion of some of the members of the Committee was that ministers should not go to these churches. That is, the church must be converted from the worst of all its sins—in the reasoning of these gentlemen—before you send them the Gospel. And then the H. M. Society should give aid to such churches only as refuse the recognition of slaveholders as members. That must all be done in slaveholding States before you send them the Gospel.

Then, the subject of Home Missionary operations was not referred to us. But in this majority report, the Home Missionary Society is brought in, and this advice is given to that Society. Now I suppose this is uncalled for. For these reasons, I thought it would be better, certainly more in accordance with my own views, and, I suppose, the views of the great majority of our Congregational churches and ministers, to leave the propriety of sending the Gospel to, or withholding it from, slaveholding States, not upon the character of the churches at all—for the more sinful, the more need they have of the Gospel—but to base it upon the character of the ministers only. And inasmuch as it is said there are ministers within the slaveholding States that do advocate Slavery as a biblical system, and therefore sustain it, I am willing to say, and that churches should say, and that we should give our advice as follows: [See the Resolution above.]

I [illegible] that [illegible] I thought it was doubtful whether I would say anything on the subject of Slavery. I knew that it was an agitating topic, and irritating, especially in its connection with ecclesiastical order and political bodies, and I thought I would avoid it if it might be done. But I found the Committee was composed of gentlemen who had been, many of them, forward in discussing the Slavery question in its various forms, and I found that those from the West thought that the West would not be satisfied unless we said something on this subject. I therefore was drawn from my determination in part, and willing to yield my own views as far as I could. When our Western brethren wish us to say so much, that the world may know that we are not pro-slavery men, and that when we are said to be such in Abolition papers and speeches we are slandered, we say we think it would not be worth while to send a minister to support Slavery or give it countenance. There are two way of letting our light shine. One is to light a candle and put it on a candle-stick, and let it light everything in the room, and burn only the material of which it is composed. Another is to light torches and fire-brands, and throw them broad-cast through the country, as if we were in sport. I differ from any member of the Committee as to the course to be pursued with regard to the evil of Slavery. I differ with members of the Committee who have left the H. M. Society, and refuse to aid it because it gives aid to churches in slaveholding States. I hold that the cardinal principles upon which we have acted hitherto, of aiding ministers in good standing in their own communion, without going into the inquiry as to the mode of discipline of the bodies with which they were connected, whether they are Congregational or Presbyterian, or going into the question of the rule of government which would exclude any man who ever sold intoxicating drinks, are sufficient. So with regard to Slavery. We send a minister to preach the Gospel, and we intend to destroy Slavery in the end, but we do not wait for Slavery to be destroyed before we commence. We go and preach the Gospel in the face of Slavery. This is in accordance with our policy from the beginning. This is the only Congregational and only Christian policy, in my opinion.

I will only add that I wish the members of the Convention may meet this subject with great calmness, and remember that in this Committee I have felt myself to be in one of the most difficult positions in which I was ever placed, in being obliged to differ from good men on the Committee. And if the substitute for the report of the majority of the Committee is one that in substance meets all your views, I beg that we may not be detained by amendments and [illegible] we may not be led off into a protracted debate; for we have not the slightest prospect of converting each other on the subject of Slavery now. Who is ready to be converted from his positions? Brother Blanchard is not, and I am not.

Rev. Mr. Blanchard replied, that his respected father Peters might have arrived at that stage of intellectual perfection which would make it impossible to be converted; but for his own part he was sincerely willing to be converted to better views than he then held. He said further, I feel it important to put some minor matters right before the Convention listens further to remarks upon the merits of the question. The father who has just addressed us remarked that the minority report was the report of six out of a Committee of fifteen, and included among the minority the gentleman from Rhode Island. What I wish to say is, there is certainly an error in the number.

Dr. PETERS. The gentlemen from Rhode Island told me he would go for my report if it should be made the basis of discussion.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD. I wish to treat the report of the father, and himself, with all respect. He objects to the majority report because it is headed by a misnomer—"On the subject of aid to slaveholding churches." Then he objects to the report because we propose to convert slaveholders before we send the Gospel there. I ask if this is a fair statement of our position. The object of the majority 'hath this extent, no more.' "Believing that those who, for their own advantage, hold and use their fellow-men as slaves," &c. The majority wish that churches which ask aid from the free North will not hold and use their fellow-men as slaves for their own advantage. The father tells you that the majority are unwilling to send the Gospel till those churches are converted from their sins. So far from this being the object of the majority, the object is this: to send a missionary to those churches to convert them from their sins, and to send him under such circumstances as promise their conversion. We wish to send more missionaries into slaveholding States, but not to preach and administer a slaveholding discipline. We do not wish to put the consciences of our young men between the upper and the nether millstone and drag them down morally, by sending them to preach a gospel which shall root out and exterminate Slavery, but on conditions which must have an effect in the future, as they have for the last century, to build up instead of destroy Slavery. That is all the object of the majority. Now whether it be correct or incorrect to state that our object is to refuse to send ministers there till those churches rise up and convert themselves, this Convention must judge.

It was objected that the majority travelled out of the record in reporting on a subject which was not committed to them. I think it would have been more pertinent and proper if the chairman had instructed the Committee in the committee-room. But this is the first time I have heard these instructions from the father. I do not know but in casting the construction of his argument in his mind, this was reserved as a sort of forlorn hope. The minority report speaks well in many respects; but it speaks of "mitigating the oppressions of Slavery, and leading to its ultimate abolition." It takes a ground that would set us back half a century at least. Now we do not believe that Slavery is an evil to be mitigated, but that slaveholding, where a man holds a slave for his own use, as property, is a sin to be repented of; and that is just the difference between the two reports. You were told in the warmth of the argument of the father that you were advised in our report to refuse aid till the churches would exclude slaveholders. Is that the language of the report, every word of which the worthy Chairman has attended to? The most that the majority wished, was that the Convention should take ground that those who hold slaves for their own advantage should not have aid.

This is, after all, the main subject which has called this Convention together. I am entitled to say that, because, in the absence of a worthy brother, I drew the call myself in the Plymouth Church at Brooklyn; I know the views of those who called this Convention, and I know this was among the leading questions that led to the call. I hope the sons will have patience with the fathers and the fathers with the sons. I have been thankful to God for the manner in which you have been pleased to speak of us at the West, and I am ready to say that though I have no great veneration for men, there is no body of men for whom I have more veneration than this which is here assembled.

I will say one word in explanation of a remark I have made before. I said, when speaking on another topic, that we came from the West to see if we could

take all of our New England brethren by the hand; and if I said it in soft tones, it is not the first time that words have been uttered in soft tones which had none the less of truth in them on that account. Did not President Edwards say, in 1791, that "while you hold negroes in Slavery, you do exceeding wrong"? This was in 1791, two years before the Constitution of the United States was adopted, in a day and time when none would be suspected of fanaticism. When I was at Andover, it was deemed almost a heresy not to receive and hold the theology of President Edwards. Now I want to ask if our morality has become the purer by the fires that burn out our freedom?

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher said, it was not my purpose to speak at all in this Convention, because some of the fathers said this was a Convention in which Henry Ward Beecher was coming to make a great racket; and as I did not know anything about it, I meant to disappoint them. I was satisfied all the more, because I saw there was no occasion for it. I saw the Spirit of God was there, and I should not have spoken under any circumstances if the Chairman of the Committee had not, in making his report, stopped and interlarded the whole report by remarks and explanations that did not fairly represent the majority of the Committee. But I regret that the majority are put on the defence in this case, and not the minority, as is usual when committees disagree on their report. Now, with all deference to the father, the proper way to bring in a report is, to bring it in as a document of that committee, as a unit, and then the minority may, if they choose, bring in a report. I think it is wrong for the chairman of a committe to bring in a minority report, and make his remarks; and that is what has brought me to my feet.

The majority did not wish to take advantage of any local currents to pledge this Convention and give force to Anti-Slavery sentiments; for this reason. We have tongues to speak for ourselves. We have papers and pulpits, and we can give force according to our strength, and we do not ask any convention to [illegible] want this Convention to give force to our sentiments on the subject of Slavery.

This was my object. There is in the West a large number of Christians whose minds are disaffected on the sole ground that the funds of the A. H. M. S. went to slaveholding churches, where slaveholding selfish purposes was no bar to communion. There was but one wish in my heart, which was that the American Home Missionary Society might be helped by the report which should be brought before this body. We did not propose to take the H. M. S. and make it the snow-plow, and put the abolition engine behind, clearing the track with that. We saw that Society was liable to lose some of its helpers that loved it—some on this side and some on that, and this was declared in the Committee. By the bye, I would excuse myself from anything said in committee. It is the first time that I ever knew the conversation in a committee brought up before a body and cut up and analyzed. It is our wish to bring out such a paper as would put those churches, which were dissatisfied, at rest, and bring them into a peaceful agreement with the A. H. M. S. That being the object, the question was not whether we should make a declaration of our opinions abstractly on Slavery; for if our object had been to propagate these, then it would have been our business to draw up a paper and present them. But our object was to conciliate men and women. And a paper for such a purpose ought to have the grace of explicitness. It ought to say nay, and mean nay; or yea, and mean yea. All we wanted was to bring back those churches who through their Anti-Slavery partialities were in danger of going off.

Now, brethren and fathers, I do not pretend that that was the best report which could be brought here. It did not suit me as I could prepare a paper to suit me, if I could sit down and deliberately draw it up. But we had a committee of fifteen men, and we were crowded for time, and had to adopt the best we could agree upon. There was another reason which I will not state. But I could not take the minority report, because it seemed to express nothing or anything. It had an excellent appearance of saying something; but under that appearance I could not find that it said anything. This is my trouble. There are churches in the West who say that if the H. M. Society does not do something they will wheel off. So we are told that Slavery thrives under our contributions, and we did not wish to make the Gospel an understrapper for Slavery. I wanted to say, not that slanderous thing, that we did not want to send the Gospel until the slaveholders were converted from Slavery, because that point was made by me explicitly [illegible] Gospel. And we thought that when anything was said, it should be something temperate, but something that had a practical application to the wants of those who objected to the operation of the H. M. S. It was our wish to say, that while slaveholders need the Gospel, it is not wise to give aid to churches, nor, all things considered, best to send missionaries to the South to churches who receive slaveholders who use their fellow-men for their advantage. If I have one wish in my heart it is this, to see how these banded brethren of the Lord Jesus Christ—such a band as I never expect to see again—could take the most fiery and dangerous subjects and come to a Christian assent upon them; and therefore I did not mean to urge anything. Now, it is much your interest as mine that there should be peace all around. And I am not strenuous on that report. If, in the judgment of wiser men, it is best to substitute this minority report, so be it. All I want is, that it should not be misunderstood how these reports came before this body.

Dr. Bacon. I am not particularly desirous that this Convention should say anything on the subject now under consideration. I am not terrified, I will add, by the consideration which moved the brother who has just taken his seat, and who argues that the churches in the Northwest, unless we speak out in accordance with their views on this particular subject, will withdraw their contributions from the American Home Missionary Society. For my own part, I am willing that the American Missionary Association should prosper and be strong enough to extend its operations both abroad and in the Home field; and what reason for alarm is there in the thought that all these discordant elements may adjust themselves in that way? Even if half the churches of the Northwest should presently be found in connection with the Missionary Association, and should wholly withdraw from the Home Missionary Society, my hair would not grow grey any the sooner for that. The ark is the Lord's; and if the cattle that draw it stumble, it is not of course my business to hold it up by putting my hand to it. If we, in this Convention, cannot agree in some strong and harmonious utterance on this matter of the relation between Home Missions and Slavery, I am very willing not to say anything at all: nor have I any fear of what may be the result of our silence.

As for the two reports which have come from the Committee, I am not quite satisfied with either of them. In the report of the majority, I dislike the phrase "slaveholding churches." It is equivocal and indefinite. There are churches in Virginia, and perhaps in other States,—at least there were such churches in Virginia a few years ago, and it may be presumed there are now—which are literally "slaveholding churches." That is, they have an endowment or fund for the support of public worship, the endowment being invested in slaves—a half-dozen, a half-score, or a score of human beings, black or yellow. These slaves are leased out from time to time, and the avails of their labour go into the treasury of the church. That is a "slaveholding church," and I know no other. From such a church I am willing to withdraw all communion. Of such a church, holding fast its endowment, and compelling a few poor people to defray the expenses of public worship by their labour, I am willing to say *Anathema Maranatha*, and I believe every heart here will say *Amen!* [many responded *Amen*] But the phrase "slaveholding churches" is used in the report, as I understand it, to signify something very different from this. It is best to use language, in a subject of this kind, with the utmost precision; for force depends on precision.

I feel too that the objection of the chairman of the committee against the resolutions proposed by the majority is entirely valid on this point, that instead of looking to the fitness and fidelity of the missionary whom the Missionary Society is to employ and commission, it looks to the state of discipline in the church in which the missionary is to labour. Whether intended or not by the Committee, the language of the resolution does say, in effect, that we are not to send the Gospel to a church in which there are members who hold and use slaves for their own advantage, till that church shall have first reformed its discipline and its morals. That is the very point of the resolution, as reported. Let me ask then, Are we not to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature? But how shall we go into the State of Missouri and preach the Gospel, if we must needs insist that the churches to which we preach it shall first come right on that cardinal point of Christian morality on which, more perhaps than on any other point, they need to be instructed and enlightened?

At the same time, I am free to say that I am not pleased with the language of the substitute proposed by the minority of the Committee. Something stronger and more definite would be better. Before I sit down, I will read a form of a resolution which would please me better than either of the two now before us. I have written my own form because on this subject I am somewhat in the habit of standing by myself. I have always found myself in a state of "betweenity" in relation to parties connected with Slavery, so that, as Baxter said of himself in regard to the controversies of his day, where other men have had one adversary I have had two. And I expect it will be so as long as I live—or as long as Slavery lives, if I should happen to outlive it.

The question of Slavery has of late become—and it is destined still to be—a grand political question, not in the slaveholding States only but throughout all the States. I use the term "political" not in the low and vulgar sense of party politics, but in that true and high sense in which a political question is a question of public or national polity. The question of Slavery has become a political question in regard to which every elector, not to say every citizen, in these thirty-one sovereignties, has a distinct responsibility. Since the question of Slavery was brought into the arena of national politics by the annexation of Texas, there has been enveloped throughout the Christian community of these free States, an intense and unanimous opposition to Slavery. It has been made manifest that the fire of other days, the true spirit of our fathers, is yet alive and glowing under the embers. Party managers may attempt to bury the question under their compromises, and may proclaim that the vexed and vexing subject is finally disposed of; but the very men who make the compromises, know at the time that there is no possibility of keeping them, and have no expectation so absurd as the expectation that their compromises will be final. The self-same question is to come up again, a few months hence, with redoubled fire and excite- [illegible] ever moment the question of the annexation of Cuba comes up, or the question of the acquisition of some other territory on the Gulf of Mexico, that thither the slaves of Virginia may be sent, from the temperate clime of their birth, to swelter and die under a tropical sun in the cultivation of sugar, the voices of millions will rise in one loud, stern protest, till the petty jugglery that passes for statesmanship shall contrive some new compromise to mystify and corrupt for a season the moral sense of the great American people.

But unanimous as we are on the political question of establishing Slavery by the power of the Union or of permitting its continued existence where the government of the Union has power to abolish it, we are not unanimous on the question of the application of church discipline to Slavery. The moment we raise that question, our voices become discordant; and the force of our protest against Slavery as a political institution is diminished. Some hold that the master of slaves should instantly abdicate his power without regard to consequences; and that if he refuses or hesitates, the church should exclude him from communion. Others hold that the law of love may require him to retain for a season the power with which the law of the land has invested him, to stand between them and the State that treats them as enemies, and to administer a kindly and civilizing government over them till they shall be able to govern themselves. It is undesirable that in such a meeting as this we should undertake to decide these long disputed questions. And here I will say that I highly approve the discretion which the majority of the Committee have shown in the framing of the resolution which they have reported. They ask us to pronounce that the discipline of the church should be inflicted—not upon slaveholders simply as such, but—upon "those who, for their own advantage, hold and use their fellow-men as slaves." Such a position is in no respect unreasonable. It is, in effect, the same with that which I have myself defended in our public meetings of ministers for many years. The offense upon which it invokes the censures of the church, is something which the moral sense of every human being recognises as a crime. Doubtless the moral sense may be misled, blinded, or silenced. Doubtless men may do wickedly, without being at all aware of the wickedness they are doing. Thus there are many disputes about the moral sense; and some men—even some theologians, if I mistake not—deny that there is a moral sense among the elements of the human soul; and if any man does not know what it is, I will tell him where to find it. It is that faculty which gives you the idea or conception of wrong. It is that sense which, when a [illegible] yourself, makes you feel not only the sinfulness of the thing but the wrongfulness of it. Here we have, as Dr. Chalmers has beautifully unfolded it, the *genesis* of the earliest knowledge of wrong and right in the mind of a child. The child of a year old begins to know when wrong is done to himself, and thus he comes to know when he does wrong to others. You know instinctively when you are wronged, as soon as you understand what has been done to you. You have an immediate and untaught perception of injustice perpetrated on yourself. To that instinct—to that law of which even selfishness is compelled to be the guardian, add the great precept of the Gospel—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," and the revelation of the moral sense is complete. To this moral sense we must make an appeal against the wickedness of Slavery. To this universal moral sense, every act of church discipline, which has any bearing on Slavery, must commend itself. The universal moral sense of human nature knows that it is wrong for me to seize upon a human being, however helpless he may be before the law, and, for my own advantage, to hold and use him as a slave. If any man can be found who has not moral sense enough to know that, it might be wise to sell him for a slave till he does know it [laughter]. I heartily approve therefore the guarded statement of the Committee, "that those who, for their own advantage hold and use their fellow-men as slaves, violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not to be received into Christian churches." And yet there are reasons—the President intimates that I am in danger of transgressing my limits as to time, and therefore I cannot state the reasons which convince me that the Convention cannot agree upon that resolution and ought not to adopt it. I will therefore, if it be in order, propose the following as an amended form of the substitute introduced by the minority of the Committee.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the manifestation of Christ, wherever his Gospel is preached, and preached in its purity, will destroy "the works of the devil," Slavery not excepted; and that it is the duty of missionary societies to grant aid to churches in slaveholding States, in the support of such ministers *only* as shall endeavour, with simplicity of purpose, and by wise discretion in their ministry, to preach the Gospel, and to commend it to the hearts and consciences of men, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in respect to Slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and furthermore, that where such ministers of the Gospel have no freedom to speak their convictions, and will not be received or heard by the people, they should depart from that place, and wipe off the dust of their feet as they go.

Dr. Patton then took the floor and said, My object is not to make a speech in favour of or against Slavery. The question to consider is, what will be the effect of such measure on the A. H. M. Society? I apprehend there is much ignorance on that subject, and that if the true fact were known it would relieve the minds of many from much feverishness on that subject. The part of the report which we have adopted is, that we will go on as we have, in co-operation with that Society. The H. M. Society have said that they will not commission any slaveholding missionary. This made a sensation at the time. But that man is not to be found on God's earth who is a missionary of the H. M. Society and a slaveholder. That position is now understood at the South. The moment a person who holds a commission as a missionary of that Society becomes a slaveholder, his commission ceases. See how it works on the other side. A missionary in Kentucky took it into his head that he would not have a person in communion in his church who held a slave. The Synod write to the H. M. Society, "You must dismiss that man." They say, "We cannot." It is replied, "He ought not to hold your commission." It is responded, "Are you ready to table charges against him and depose him from the ministry? Until you are, you must not ask us to sustain him." The Society has thus two oppositions like two mighty mountains of strength. It is my opinion that if you leave the report as far as you have adopted it, and let the rest lie over, and leave the Society to work out their way as their wisdom and piety will enable to do it best, it will be wiser than for us to legislate on the subject in this body. There has been no expression used here which conveys the deep abhorrence of my soul against Slavery. No language can be used—Dr. Cox cannot make words big enough to express my feeling against it. But the question is not, how great a curse or blessing it is. There are so few churches in the slave States which are aided by the Society, while the immense mass are in the free States; why should we put shackles on the Society? It is best to let well enough alone. Let us express what we have adopted, and as to the rest, let us trust those men in the H. M. S. who have devoted their best years and strength to this good cause. I would postpone the majority report, the minority report, and Dr. Bacon's rhetorical report.

Rev. Mr. Storrs, of Brooklyn, remarked that it had been said that the subject now before the Convention was the principal occasion of the calling of such a Convention. The statement is incorrect. In that unqualified form it must make a wrong impression, however unintentionally. This Convention was occasioned and brought about by a multitude of influences. The reasons impelling the General Association of New York to invite it were manifold. All the interests that have been here discussed, concerning the relations of Eastern and Western Congregationalists, concerning the Plan of Union, the best mode of helping Western churches to build church-edifices, etc., had been considered and discussed by the members of that Association before they decided to propose this Convention. The fact that this subject was the principal one discussed in the Association at the time when the Committee was appointed to issue the Call, does not show at all that the Convention was called mainly on this account. That was hardly more than an accidental coincidence. The existence of this body is a fact that has grown up out of many roots; though that happened to be the one about which the Association was principally digging just at that juncture.

And now, as I have said a word that seemed needful on this matter, may I be permitted to add a few words on the general subject before us? It seems to me that we may have some *unnecessary* heats of feeling, here; that we do all agree, more nearly than we think. Either of the Reports is good, and will do good. I will begin with the minority Report; indeed, I will not read the others, for they, as you know, take stronger ground than this on the matter of Slavery. But I am bound to say of this, that after carefully reading it, it seems to me to express good Christian ground, on this subject of aid to churches containing slaveholders, and I am quite willing to have it go as the voice of this Convention. I will read it:

[Mr. S. read the Resolution].

Now I do not say that this says all that it might say, and yet speak truthfully. I do not say that it says all that I should like to have it say, if only my views were to be consulted about it. But I do say that so far as it goes it speaks the Truth. It speaks Anti-Slavery Truth. The Gospel *will* remove error and wrong, where it is faithfully preached; and Missionary aid *should* be given *only* to such ministers as will [illegible] end. Undoubtedly we may go a great deal further than this if we chose, and if we are all agreed, and yet keep within the limits of justness. We may build out our piers into the rushing current of prejudice and error on this subject, a great way beyond this resolution. But why should we try to do it? when we cannot do it unanimously; and when so far as we have built this, in this Report, it is firm, solid, durable, and has deep water enough before and all around it to float the largest Christian enterprise. For one, sir, I must say, this Report seems to me to have been undervalued, in respect to its Anti-Slavery character. It is thoroughly true and good, so far as it goes.

Then again, sir, I am constrained to think that this Report states the true ground, and the other does *not*, in regard to the bestowment of missionary aid. That aid is given to the *minister*, not to the *church*. It is to enable him to preach the Gospel; not to enable the church to get rich, or to build itself larger and more splendid edifices. And it is therefore to the character of the MAN that the Society is to look in appropriating its aid. Whomsoever God has called to the kingdom of his Son, and to the work of his ministry, by the regenerating, enlightening and quickening influences of the Holy Spirit, HIM I ought to own; the churches and their Societies ought to own and accept him, and to aid as he needs it. We cannot be absolved from this obligation. It is because of this obligation that missionary Societies exist and are sustained. Wheresoever any man has Christ within him, *his* wisdom, righteousness, and his Hope of glory—and wheresoever he is endeavouring, with his whole heart and mind, in the devotion of his life, to carry to men the knowledge of this Christ, to make them sharers in this redemption—I have no right to withhold from him my aid, my sympathies, my prayers, and my pecuniary contributions. I am bound, on the other hand, to give them all to him. And I never can say—in even that poor measure in which any mortal man may say it after Christ—I *never* can say, when Death comes to me, and I look back upon Life and the mission with which God has entrusted me in it, "It is finished"—if I fail to do this.

And, sir, I think we should be extremely cautious how we limit the scope of this missionary aid. Of course we should not so extend it, as to establish error or wrong-doing by our charities. But I think we should look differences of view on this very subject of Slavery with a great deal of forbearance; perhaps, I may say, with a pretty broad latitude of indulgence. Why, sir, there have been times in my experience, and not long ago, either—when I could not for the life of me find it in my heart to say that I esteemed as Christian brethren ministers, my neighbours, perhaps some of them in this house, for their views on this very matter of American Slavery. They have seemed to me to preach a doctrine most thoroughly anti-Christian; a doctrine from which my whole nature recoils to its inmost depths, and yet if these men had applied to me for aid in preaching the Gospel—should I have been justified in withholding it from them? *Not* so long as I had confidence in their Christian character, and in their capacity to [illegible] had the election of General Scott been defeated by this small treachery—this petty treason—he would have been a Whig bye-word and hissing for the rest of his days. And even had his ticket (as would have been the case) made no difference in the result, it would have branded him as an aspirant who sought to console himself by treachery and malignity for his disappointed hopes. We have no call to settle the quarrels of Mr. Webster with his former party. We merely express the natural and necessary feelings of political partizans who had been treated as the Whigs had been by him. Those are unpardonable sins, the offences which can never be atoned for, which a "lost leader" commits against the peace, dignity and success of the party which he once led.

Whatever may be the result of next week's Election, Mr. Webster would have found himself in a most uncomfortable predicament. He had a foretaste of what he had to expect in the bitter but just denunciation of Mr. Mangum, of North Carolina, before Congress adjourned—a denunciation which called forth the shuffling and evasive excuse, which makes almost the last act of Mr. Webster's public life. He was driven to ask the Nation to believe that it was by accident and coincidence, and without any influence proceeding from their opinions, that he gave to the only two bolting Whig printers in the South, the job of the public printing! That this intrepid statement would have been allowed to pass in silence, after Congress came together, or that the sorry tenacity with which he clung to office under a party which he was doing his best to destroy, would have escaped the fiercest rebuke and the bitterest sarcasm, is not to be believed. It is possible that none of the Northern members might have dared to deal with him, but he would have found the Southern men who mocked him with the hope of their support, quite equal to it. Mr. Mangum's scathing diatribe was but the first fruits of the harvest that would have been poured full measure, pressed down and running over, into his bosom. Yes, he had lived long enough! Long enough to make his death the smallest possible evil, and the greatest possible good, that it could possibly have been to the party with which he once acted. The mass of the Whig party must regard his death as the removal of an impediment out of the way of General Scott; and we suspect that not a few of those who had committed themselves to his fortunes will gladly avail themselves of this way of escape from the wreck of that desperate venture. The Democrats, we suspect, beyond the narrow circle of personal friendships and family attachments, are the only genuine mourners for his loss.

Mr. Webster has now passed into the domain of History, and his character, his life and his rank among eminent men must be referred to her authentic decision. She will take time to make up the Record, but we have full forth that it will be impartial and just. We think, if anything, that posterity will not do him justice; or his greatest triumphs have the smallest justice done them. We mean those of the Forum. For power over a jury and influence over the Bench, we do not believe he ever had his superior. The Bar was the true scene of his greatness. Even the reports of his great forensic speeches which have been best done, give but an inadequate idea of their force. But his parliamentary speeches, we firmly believe, will soon be ranked as second rate even among American orations. That he will not be placed in the foremost array of Statesmen, is inevitable—for what Statesmanlike thing has he ever done? What has he done that will affect the welfare and happiness of a nation and its posterity? He wanted the first element of a Statesman, for he could not read the signs of the times in which he lived. Had he had that gift, he had the personal influence and the intellectual power to have moulded and guided public opinion on the only subject which calls for Statesmanship now. He lacked it, and the fatal Blunder of the Seventh of March followed—a Blunder from the consequences of which all the adulation of eulogies and funeral sermons can never deliver his memory. It will adhere forever to his name.—E. Q.

The Anti-Slavery Advocate.—In his last letter to the *Standard*, our Dublin Correspondent, Mr. R. D. Webb, announced the appearance, in England, of a new Anti-Slavery paper, with the above title. The first number has reached this country, and we cannot refrain from expressing the great gratification its perusal has afforded us, and the pleasure we feel that the Anti-Slavery public of Great Britain is, at last, likely to learn, from a source within its reach, the true character of the Anti-Slavery movement here, its present position, and its future progress. Hitherto, all who might feel any interest in the subject have been almost entirely dependent for their knowledge in regard to it upon the visits of an occasional lecturer, for the number of those who have correspondents among the Abolitionists of this country, or who take American Anti-Slavery papers, is comparatively very small; and they would seek in vain in the London *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for any information upon the subject, beyond an occasional reference to some great event, such as the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act, the national voice of the Free Soil party, or some motion of Mr. Lewis Tappan in a religious convention. That a deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had been graciously admitted to an audience with the Queen of Spain, or the King of Denmark, to present a memorial on the African Slave Trade; that the Right Honourable Lord, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had condescended to answer certain queries touching the Sugar duties in Her Majesty's Colonies; that Mr. Secretary Scoble had addressed another Right Honourable Secretary, Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies, on the subject of Coolie Immigration; this has been the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, the top and the bottom, the inside and the outside, for years past, of *The (London) Anti-Slavery Reporter*. To such a lenten repast has that paper bidden the Anti-Slavery people of Great Britain, till the Anti-Slavery sentiment has well nigh starved to death among them; and where it has survived at all, it has been in spite of the influence of the British and Foreign Society, which, if it ever aroused itself to anything more important than a Court-dress, or a deputation to Downing Street, it was, by appealing to religious bigotry and sectarian prejudice, to use its influence against the American Anti-Slavery Society, and to keep out of sight the great movement which was shaking this Government to its very foundations. It was thus that it stifled public sentiment in Great Britain, and made the path of pro-slavery Americans easy and plain before them, and insured them a ready hearing for their defence of American Slavery, and their slanderous abuse of American Abolitionists; whereas, had the British and Foreign Society been true to its trust, long ere this every American who landed upon those shores, from the Minister to St. James down to the humblest minister of a country parish, would have been met by a tone and look of rebuke which would have made him ashamed of his country and himself if he dared to utter a single syllable in defence of the execrable system which condemned one-sixth of his fellow-citizens to the worst tyranny the world has ever known. We sincerely hope that the new organization, recently formed in London, may be able to sustain itself, and we are sure, from the promise of this first number of its organ, *The Advocate*, that it will do thoroughly and unflinchingly the good work which the British and Foreign Society has left undone, and undo much of the evil that it has effected. And this we hope and believe, not because the paper is bound to any party, but because, irrespective of party, it means to tell the truth, and do justice to all. But it is no more [illegible] itself, and therefore we copy its

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

Some earnest friends to the Anti-Slavery cause have met together in London, and have organized a Society under the name of the "Anglo-American Anti-Slavery Association," the first and principal object of which is to issue a cheap monthly sheet, to be called the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*.

The purpose of this periodical is to supply a want long and deeply felt by a large number of the friends of the slave, in Great Britain—the want of a faithful report of what is taking place in the United States, both as respects the Slavery question and the labours of the Abolitionists: in a word, a Record of True Abolitionism.

Convinced that if Slavery were exterminated from the United States, it would immediately cease in Cuba and Brazil, the *Advocate* will devote its almost exclusive attention to the measures now in agitation for the emancipation of the American slave; and by pledging itself to no particular party on the other side of the Atlantic, it will be free from the temptation to suppress any information from the United States, of any proceedings at home, that would prove instructive or interesting to British Abolitionists.

The wrongs of the American slave, and the efforts of those who are struggling to procure his freedom, will be kept prominently before the public eye. The Anti-Slavery position of political parties, and the operations of various Anti-Slavery instrumentalities in America, will come under review. The contaminating influence of Slavery upon the religious bodies of the United States, and the secessions which their infidelity to the cause of Christianity in cherishing and defending the iniquitous system, have necessitated, will form topics of frequent consideration. Fidelity to the helpless forlorn slave will compel the *Advocate* to point out the lamentable effects of the pro-slavery public sentiment of America upon the writings of English travellers in the United States, and of American visitors to Great Britain; and to show the weakness and fallacy—too often the utter heartlessness—which pervade them.

That the general feeling of Englishmen is opposed to Slavery is neither to be disputed nor wondered at; but that want of knowledge and of interest in the affairs of other countries, so characteristic of our own, is particularly observable in reference to the Slavery of America, and the self-sacrificing exertions of her Abolitionists. Indeed, for the last ten or twelve years, Anti-Slavery feeling in this country has been rapidly declining. This ignorance and this indifference appear to be chiefly owing to the limited circulation of the Anti-Slavery papers of America in Great Britain, and to the absence of any English vehicle for communicating to the public a regular epitome of their contents. As conductors of the new periodical, it will be our duty to select from these valuable sources of information, and to present, in a condensed form, whatever of importance to the Anti-Slavery enterprise they may contain. We shall feel it especially incumbent upon us to give our readers clear ideas upon the true theory, or *philosophy*, of the Anti-Slavery movement—a point which is most imperfectly understood amongst us; to unravel the web with which enemies to Abolitionism, in the United States (encouraged too often by ignorant or insincere Anti-Slavery professors at home), have contrived to entangle the movement in this country; to elucidate the various ways in which the cause has been obstructed, or the attention of those anxious to promote it has been misdirected to foreign or inefficient objects; to point out the great danger that exists, even among warm-hearted English Abolitionists, of the interests of the slave being sacrificed to the fear of disturbing the money relations between individuals of this country and America, or to the dread of setting up an Anti-Slavery agitation in the religious sects of both nations. In disseminating such information as we may deem calculated to create an intelligent interest in the whole question, we shall endeavour to show that the English, in whatever circles of life they move, sympathizing in the trials and co-operating with the labours of the American Abolitionists, have the power of contributing their aid in removing from a people connected with us by language, literature, and religious fellowship, one of the direst evils the world has ever witnessed.

In these prefatory remarks our purpose is not to commend our intended publication, but simply to announce it. Our sheet must plead its own claims to support.

By the devoted labourers in the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, whose noble efforts are so little known in England, we are sure this unexpected and unhoped for auxiliary will be cordially welcomed. To many who are working in our own country in behalf of the slave, and to others desirous of having a sphere of usefulness in the cause pointed out to them, we doubt not that the *Advocate* will be acceptable: and we believe that there are those accustomed to mourn in secret over the terrible wrongs of the American slave—the unparalleled bodily sufferings, and the fearful spiritual darkness that Slavery inflicts—whose hearts will be gladdened by our efforts, and who will feel it a comfort to encourage, and a duty to sustain, our disinterested undertaking.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* Sydney Howard Gay, *New-York.*

†† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* Francis Jackson, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* Sydney Howard Gay, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1852.

Daniel Webster is dead. The magnificent failure of his life is over. He died as he had lived, the victim of the Slave Power. Thwarted by that mighty influence in all his schemes of ambition, cramped and controlled by it in the best days of his public life, cajoled by its lying promise into the act which will make his name historically infamous, with characteristic falsehood, it broke that promise to the ear as well as to the hope, and, with it, broke his heart. Perhaps Poetical Justice would have been better answered had he lived to see another man exulting in the eminence which had been the dream and aspiration of his life. His punishment might have seemed more complete and perfect had that added drop of gall been mingled with his cup of bitterness. But Moral Justice is satisfied. A new and conspicuous example is afforded of the truth that Nemesis never sleeps, but sooner or later overtakes and chastises the guilty. The interval interposed between his Crime and the Penalty, indeed, has not been long. Punishment limped not, but flew in pursuit of him. And the scourge with which she chastised, the shaft with which she slew him, were furnished by the very men to purchase whose smile he had incurred his retribution.

Does any one believe that he would now be lying stark and cold at Marshfield, if the Slaveholders had given him the support which was to be the consideration of his Seventh of March Speech, and had accepted him as the Candidate of his Party? Would the minute guns have announced his death on Sunday morning, would the bells have tolled forth their dismal knell upon the air, would the flags have been drooping at half mast, would Faneuil Hall have put on the weeds of mourning, would Rufus Choate have ejaculated his fluent hyperboles over his coffin, would his long funeral have blackened the streets of Boston, if Daniel Webster had been the hero of an animated and hopeful contest for the crowning object of his ambition? The long disease which has just terminated in his death began on the 21st day of June last past. The blow from which he never recovered was dealt him then, and by hands from which he had hoped only for the helping he had purchased. He deserved his fate, but, O! not from *them!* Their ingratitude poisoned the iron which on that day entered into his soul. The bitterness of disappointment was doubled by the shame of having been duped. He sold his soul to the Devil of Slavery, and was cheated out of the price. Be such forever the fate of Northern men that put their trust in slave-drivers!

Mr. Webster's death, however, was well timed for him. He had nothing further to live for. He was too far advanced in years to have any hope of a resurrection from the political death to the body of which he had been doomed. By the paltry revenge which he sought to wreak upon his party for preferring another man to himself, by suffering himself to be run as a bolting candidate, he had justly forfeited the respect and confidence of the respectable portion of the Whigs. Whatever may be thought of Convention Nominations, as an abstract question, he had concluded himself by going into the one at Baltimore, as a candidate, and he was bound by every tie of political and personal honour to yield to the clearly expressed wish of his party.

☞ The unexpected death of one who has, for so many years, engaged so large a share of public attention, has naturally created a great sensation throughout the country. The papers are filled with biographical sketches and eulogistic memorials of Mr. Webster, all as like each other as if emanating from one mind, and written with one hand. There seems to be a rule of newspaper propriety universally recognised, that the necessity for mournful leaders on the death of a distinguished man is quite as indispensable as a sober face at a funeral; nay, more than this; for at a funeral tears are not looked for from all the spectators; but the want of violent bursts of editorial grief is held, apparently, to be unpardonable. Doubtless, in many instances, these demonstrations are perfectly sincere, and reflect the feeling of a portion of the public; but as the respect and reverence for Daniel Webster was very far from universal, so neither is the sorrow at his death. If those who have never loved, and have always opposed both him and his measures, should content themselves at this time with a decorous silence, they would quite as well respond to the public demand upon them as they now do by the display of their pretence of obstreperous sorrow. If the character of a public man be discussed at all, that he is just dead is not a reason for not discussing it impartially and honestly.

How we—editorially—improve this occasion, may be seen in another column, and it is not our purpose here to enlarge upon the subject. We were struck, however, and cannot forbear quoting a passage from a Eulogy of Mr. Webster's upon Mr. Mason, which is made use of by a morning paper, apparently, and no doubt really, without perceiving the application which may, very properly, be made of it, and how completely it should silence all eulogy upon himself. The passage we refer to is as follows:

"But, sir, political eminence and professional fame "fade away and die with all things earthly. Nothing "of character is really permanent but virtue and per"sonal worth. These remain. Whatever of excellence "is wrought into the soul itself belongs to both worlds. "Real goodness does not attach itself merely to this "life; it points to another world. Political or profes"sional reputation cannot last forever; but a conscience "void of offence before God and man is an inheritance "for eternity."

We turned from this to an article in a former No. of this paper, by Mr. J. R. Lowell, published in July, 1848, and found there these words which seem to us a fitting commentary upon Mr. Webster's eulogy of his friend, and his own death.

"We would not be understood as detracting in the least from Mr. Webster's reputation as a man of great power. He has hitherto given evidence of a great force, it seems to us, rather than of a great intellect. But it is a force working without results. It is like a steam engine which is connected by no band with the machinery which it ought to turn. A great intellect leaves behind it something more than a great reputation. The earth is in some way the better for its having taken flesh upon itself. We cannot find that Mr. Webster has communicated an impulse to any of the great ideas which it is the destiny of the Nineteenth Century to incarnate into action. His energies have been absorbed by Tariff, and Constitution, and Party—dry bones into which the touch of no prophet could send life. Party could hardly take up the whole of a great mind so that nothing could be left over for humanity. It is not true that even the greatest intellects must be subservient to the circumstances by which they find themselves surrounded. It is the characteristic of such that they create their own circumstances. Where they are, is always the centre. If they must, as is commonly said, take the world as they find it, they must not leave it so. Their destiny is a beneficent and creative one. Thus far, Mr. Webster has created nothing but a fame."

☞ Though the *Standard* is not a Campaign sheet, nor, in any partisan sense, a political paper, political documents of various sorts properly find a place in it, as a part of the history of the Anti-Slavery Cause. Under this rule, we should lay before our readers the following letter from Mr. Tompkins: but we are disposed to do more than merely copy it at any time when it would conveniently fill a column of the outside form, and therefore give it a more conspicuous place, to the exclusion of other matter, that it may have the benefit of our circulation, though limited, before the election. This paper is not confined exclusively to those who are non-voters, and such persons may be desirous of having a document which may, perhaps, aid them in inducing some wavering neighbour to cast his vote for the candidates of that party, which, so far as a constitutional party honestly can be, is opposed to the continuation of Slavery and the domination of slaveholders.

The letter of Mr. Tompkins is manly and straightforward, and the Free Democrats may point with pride to a candidate who asserts an hereditary title to an Anti-Slavery character, and claims that his own life has been consistent with the faith he inherits. He is not, and does not claim to be, that we know of, an Abolitionist, and, judging from this letter, we presume he is not familiar with the progress of the Abolition movement; but that is not necessary to full standing among Free Democrats, nor is it likely that they will always be so fortunate in their leaders as to find them among men whose antecedents are so unexceptionable as those of their present candidate for Governor. They have not, of course, the least chance of choosing him, and do not expect it; but, at least, they can hold up their heads and declare that they have as good reason to be proud of him, as a man and a citizen, as they have of the cause for which they are contending.

The *Evening Post*, in commenting upon this letter, "regrets extremely that Mr. Tompkins has been led, by his sense of duty, to oppose the National and State nominations of the Democratic party, and to give the weight of his name and influence to a political schism from which we [*Post*] do not anticipate any practical advantage, either to himself or to the country." The compliment to Mr. Tompkins is unequivocal, and is an evidence that that paper fears the influence it acknowledges; nor could a more bitter reflection be cast upon the *Post* itself than that it should regret that he should do now from a sense of duty precisely what it did four years ago, but which its sense of duty was not strong enough to induce it to continue doing.

The Letter of Mr. Tompkins is as follows:

LETTER FROM MINTHORNE TOMPKINS.

To the Citizens of the State of New York:

As I have been much misrepresented in reference to my motives in uniting myself with "The Free Democracy of the Country," and as an assertion has been recently made by Mr. John Van Buren that I had been induced by Thurlow Weed to accept the nomination with which I have been honoured, I have to say, in reference to that assertion, that if it was made, and I see it so reported in the city papers, it is entirely and utterly false. In reference to his charge upon me of inconsistency in refusing to support Franklin Pierce for the Presidency, after having advocated the nomination of W. L. Marcy for that office, I have only to say, that if he or any other person supposes that I would have supported Gov. Marcy or any other individual who would have accepted a nomination from a convention which had passed the anti-Democratic resolutions which the recent Baltimore Convention did, he does not know me; and that, from some cause, I will not say from the absence of like qualities in his own character, he cannot appreciate certain qualities in mine, for which I have too much regard to sacrifice them, either from motives of policy, expediency or profit.

I will now, as briefly as possible, state the causes which have created the necessity for, and called into existence, the present Free Democratic party.

It is with extreme mortification and regret that, at this early day, so soon after the formation of our government, 'ere yet three-quarters of a century have passed since the charter of our liberties was obtained by the sufferings and sacrifices of our forefathers, 'ere all those who had witnessed and participated in those sufferings and sacrifices had passed from the stage of action—I say, it is with extreme mortification and regret that, at this early day, we have so many causes of complaint of invasions and attacks by the American Congress upon the liberties and constitutional rights of the American people. These attacks and invasions have been mainly connected with the subject of Slavery.

The first occurred some fifteen years since, at a time when many of the citizens of this country, feeling the weight of responsibility resting upon them in consequence of the continuance of Slavery in the District of Columbia, desirous of relieving themselves from that responsibility, and believing (as almost every one now believes and admits) that Congress had full power

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☞ A large and enthusiastic meeting of the Free Democracy of Staten Island was held on the 25th inst.

THURSDAY EVEN

under the constitution to legislate on that subject,' addressed respectful petitions to their representatives, asking its abolition. Would not every Democrat, would not every citizen of whatever political party, have supposed that those petitions would have been listened to? Every man now knows that they were not even received. It remained for an American Congress to inflict that wound upon the liberties and constitutional rights of the American people, and it remained for the American people to acquiesce and cry content. The reason given forth by Congress for their refusal to receive such petitions was, that (as they said) Congress having no right to legislate on the subject, therefore the people had no right to petition them in reference to it. Was that a necessary inference? Was it a natural conclusion? Did it partake in any degree of the character of a logical sequence? Most assuredly not. And why was it acquiesced in by the American people? Because the act was mainly consummated by the Democratic party. Because the head which conceived and the arm which struck the blow were the head and arm of the Democratic body.

At that time I had the honour, through the partiality of my fellow citizens, to hold a seat in the Senate of this State. During the second year of the term for which I had been elected, a resolution was introduced by the Hon John A. King, who represented the county of Queens, in the House of Assembly, which resolution required the concurrent action of the Senate, censuring the representatives in Congress from this State who had voted against the reception of such petitions.

And what fate did that resolution meet at the hands of Democratic senators? Although it should have received every vote, that resolution received but one affirmative vote among the Democratic portion of the Senate. That vote was given by myself, and for that vote I was much censured by the then leaders of the Democratic party; and feeling that by that vote I misrepresented the then sentiments of my constituency, I resigned the position to which their partiality had elevated me.

Believing that a great act of tyranny and outrage had been committed by Congress, I thought that those representatives of the State who had helped to perpetrate it, and who could be reached by a vote of censure, richly merited, and should receive such censure, I grieved to find that it was *Democratic* doctrine, that the sovereign people had no right to address respectful petitions to their legislative agents

It was mortifying to those who had aught of the essence of Democracy about them, to find that an outrage, which no despot would have dared to inflict upon his subjects, was approved and sanctioned by the Democracy of this country. Would any despot, however difficult it may have been for his subjects, in consequence of the ordinary surroundings of arbitrary power to reach him by petitions, have dared to say to those subjects, I will not hear you—I will not listen to your petition or grievances?

But this, in so many words, the American Congress dared to say to the American people; and this was the first great blow at their liberties and constitutional rights.

Up to the year 1848, so great and frequent had been the encroachments of the slave power, and so yielding and truckling had been the conduct of those who should have resisted its monstrous usurpations, that it was found necessary to form a third party; and for that purpose a convention was held at Buffalo, and candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency were placed in nomination. A platform of principles was also adopted, in the preamble to which, after alluding to the "stifling the voice of a great constituency under slaveholding dictation," which had prevailed in the convention of the Democratic party which had been held in Baltimore, and the "the abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability," which had prevailed in the Whig convention at Philadelphia, I find this language:

"And whereas, these nominations (alluding to those made at Baltimore and Philadelphia), so made, furnish the occasion and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of the Free Democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the federal government from its control,

"Resolved, therefore, That we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavours to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon The National Platform of Freedom, in opposition to the Sectional Platform of Slavery."

Among other resolutions passed by that convention, I find the following:

"Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner—Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labour and Free Men, and, under it, will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."

Believing, as I did, in the propriety of the above preamble and resolutions, and feeling the necessity of independent party action, I yielded my feeble support to *The National Platform of Freedom*; and did then, and do now intend to fight on, and fight ever, under the banner of "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labour and Free Men;" and when I say I will so fight, I do not mean, as some say they meant in 1848, to claim the right to contend for those principles under any party organization in which they are not the *paramount* object, certainly, not under any party organization by which they are openly repudiated and trampled under foot.

How the party which was at that time formed for the advancement of the principles above alluded to, and which made such a glorious effort immediately after its formation, beating in this state that party which had the appearance and odour of regularity, in its favour, how that party, I say, was merged, dissolved and betrayed, is now a matter of political history.

About the time of the betrayal of that party, in the year 1850, a year around which I wish that black lines might be drawn to expunge it from this century, that infamous and unconstitutional bill called "the Fugitive Slave Bill," was passed by the American Congress, and this was the second great blow at the liberties and constitutional rights of the American people; and this act, too, was mainly consummated by the Democratic party; and notwithstanding the unconstitutionality, notwithstanding the barbarity and beastly inhumanity of this bill, so passed, we find it not only acquiesced in, but we find both the great political parties parading forth, this bill as the great finality of the day.

This bill, so subversive of the constitution, so destructive of freedom, so violative of personal rights, so revolting to our manhood, so wanting in every essential constituent of a law, this petted offspring of the national Congress, must forsooth, be ratified and reaffirmed, and have the most favoured place next to the constitution itself, so to be ready, I suppose, to usurp the place of that very instrument, so many provisions of which it has already destroyed.

What people can, with so great propriety, be urged to take ground in favour of our constitutional rights, and in opposition to the unconstitutional and oppressive action of Congress as the people of the great state of New York? What people has derived so much benefit from the abolition of Slavery, and the consequent elevation of labour within their own limits, as the people of this great State? Of what avail the great enterprise of her citizens? Of what avail her great agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing advantages and facilities? Of what avail her extensive natural resources? Of what avail, I would ask, would have been all her great internal improvements? Of what avail the great genius of a Clinton in projecting, and his indefatigable efforts in carrying to completion that first and greatest of those improvements, had there not been a co-labourer in the field, whose efforts, although directed in a different channel, still paved the way for the beneficial results which have since flowed from that and other kindred improvements?

And while I would claim all honour for the memory of Clinton—while I would claim for his memory the gratitude of the people of this State for the favourable impress which a life devoted to their service has stamped upon their institutions and character, at the risk of appearing arrogant and boastful, I will claim merit for his co labourer for his efforts in the cause of humanity, and for his having urged upon the legislature of his much loved state, "the propriety of expunging from our statute-book the reproach of Slavery." Although the individual alluded to left to his descendanants little patrimony, other than the recollection of his sacrifices and unmerited sufferings, yet did he leave to them a rich legacy, a priceless heritage, of which they cannot be deprived, and one which, I trust they will ever appreciate. For one of those descendants I can answer that *he* values that legacy more highly than any other which could have been bestowed upon him. That he regards that heritage, that page in his father's history as the brightest in the record of a life intimately connected with an eventful period in the history of his country. That there may be no misunderstanding, I will quote almost entirely the language in which that bequest was made:

To the Legislature of the State of New York:

Gentlemen—In my last public communication to the Legislature, I had the honour to advert to the present happy condition of our country, and to intimate that the existing state of society, and the general disposition of mankind, seemed propitious to the promotion of the interests of literature, religion, freedom and humanity. I will now take the liberty of submitting to the Legislature, whether the dictates of humanity, the reputation of the State, and a just sense of gratitude to the Almighty for the many favours he has conferred on us as a nation, do not demand that the reproach of Slavery be expunged from our statute book.

"No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore "the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, "more than the people of the United States. Every "step by which they have advanced to the character of "an independent nation, seems to have been distin-"guished by some token of Providential agency."

The same Divine munificence, which called forth this effusion of gratitude from the father of his country twenty-seven years ago, has been equally, if not more conspicuous in every subsequent stage of our advancement in prosperity and renown. What more acceptable return can a grateful and enlightened people make to the Heavenly donour of these so great benefits, than by emancipating from bitter servitude that portion of his creatures which still continues to be held in unjust and cruel bondage by civilized and independent freemen.

I do, therefore, respectfully but earnestly recommend to the Legislature to establish some future day not more remote than the 4th day of July, 1827, on which Slavery shall cease within this State. To fix a day thus remote for general emancipation, will impair in a very small degree any private right, and will, at the same time, be consistent with humanity and justice of a free and prosperous people.

(Signed) DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

Albany, Jan. 28th, 1817.

The Legislature, acting upon the recommendation contained in the above message, did fix upon the 4th day of July, 1827, as the day on which Slavery should cease within this State.

Who can calculate the important influence of that act upon our destinies, and what return are we making for the advantages we have derived from it? Why, we, in utter disregard of the claims of freedom and even of common self-respect, are content to be made kidnappers, slave-hunters and catchers. This is the return which we are required to make for all "those tokens of providential agency which have distinguished every step by which we have advanced to the character of an independent nation."

This is the way in which we are required to show "our gratitude and obligation to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men."

It will be said by many, that the expressions of condemnation which I have used in reference to "the Fugitive Slave Bill," are unwarranted; and that that bill was necessary to carry out a constitutional provision. All I ask, is, that my fellow-citizens should read it, and if they do not characterize it in harsher terms than I have, I shall feel myself open to the charge of misrepresentation, or at least of the more venial offence of not understanding the English language

It is for their opposition to this bill, and to its being fastened upon them as a finality, that those with whom I have with pride and pleasure cast my political lot, are denounced as Abolitionists, agitators, enemies of the Democratic party and of the Union, when, in truth, their present position is assumed in consequence of their devotion to *true* democracy, their love for the Union, their desire to preserve that Union, and their determination that it shall continue worthy of such preservation.

Whatever may be the extent to which the desire to obtain the spoils of office, may influence the action in the coming canvass of the applicants for those spoils and their friends, I trust it will not influence them to continue their abuse of those individuals who, at the seat of our national government house, have dared to speak a word for freedom.

I trust that those who, in the pestilential atmosphere of Washington, have displayed a degree of moral heroism, worthy of other return than it meets, may no longer be treated with language of obloquy and reproach, only humiliating to those whose utter it.

In conclusion, fellow-citizens, for myself I make but one claim, and that is, in favour of my own democracy. I believe myself to be a Democrat in spirit and in truth. I know that I *was* a Democrat by parentage, by birth, and by education, and now am a Democrat by conviction. But when I am told that I cannot continue to be a Democrat without approving the Fugitive Slave Bill, without consenting that it shall stand as a finality on our national statute book, and without agreeing to discountenance any kind of agitation on the subject of Slavery, I must confess that I am not quite so strong a Democrat as that would require me to be. With my present determination to agitate and to encourage agitation until the Fugitive Slave Bill shall have been repealed; until Slavery shall have been abolished in the district of Columbia and other localities within the jurisdiction of Congress, and until the rights of the free citizens of the States shall be respected in every part of our extended country—with this determination, I say, I cannot come up to that standard of democracy, the supporters of which claim the right to put a stop to agitation and free discussion, either on the subject of Slavery or any other subject.

The time, I trust, will soon come, when those who are desirous of retaining their democratic character may be allowed a partial reputation for democracy, although they may not be enabled to attain that elevated party-tone for which the above mentioned finality positions seems to be paramount requisites.

With a firm confidence in my own democracy,
I remain, fellow-citizens,
Respectfully, your friend,
MINTHORNE TOMPKINS.

** The language of the constitution in reference to legislation for the District of Columbia, is the following:*

"The Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings."

CIRCULAR TO VOTING FRIENDS.

DR. J. E. SNODGRASS, one of the Electors at large nominated by the Independent Democrats of Maryland, has issued the following Circular to the Friends of that State. It is not calculated for that meridian alone, however, and is quite as appropriate and timely for those Friends in other States, who go "into the mixture" to choose slaveholders and military men as national rulers. We commend it to the consideration of such inconsistent members of the Society which professes to be distinguished from all other religious bodies by its testimonies against war and Slavery:

THE PRESIDENCY.

RESPECTED FRIENDS: As an Elector at large in Maryland, for HALE AND JULIAN, the Free Democratic candidates for President and Vice President, the undersigned addresses you in the spirit of respectfulness and kindness.

You are connected with a religious organization which is opposed, in principle and practice, to all forms of cruelty and oppression, but particularly those of War and Slavery. For your sufferages the old parties, still known (by *name*) as "Whig" and "Democratic," offer Warriors and Slaveholders. Now, apart from voting for one of the former class as President, thereby giving your virtual sanction and approval of their bloody careers, it should not be forgotten that you would vote for a Slaveholder as Vice President—yes, a Slaveholder—who will have the important controlling power of the presiding officer of the Senate, and who will throw it against freedom and free discussion! The Vice President is kept too much out of sight in the canvas. It should not be forgotten that Presidents have died, leaving Vice Presidents to assume the whole control of the Executive office. I need not remind some of you how woefully you have been disappointed, thereby, in your hopes of former administrations, which you have helped into power! Will you run the same risk again? Pause and ponder, I beseech you, before you take such a step with open eyes! Vote for HALE and JULIAN, whose ticket you will find attached—both of whom are civilians and non-slaveholders, while both are trustworthy men.

But you may say, "*We must choose between two evils.*" Certainly, if two evils are *forced* upon you, so that you cannot escape a choice. But it is not so in the present case You are not compelled to make a choice, which is but another phrase for *sharing the responsibility* of the election. You need not vote at all; and, if you decline to vote on principle, be it so. I shall respect your scruples, and have nothing to say. But, if you do vote, I solemnly claim your ballot for PEACE AND FREEDOM, in order that, wherever the Federal Government has power to promote the one or the other, it may consistently and wisely use it to that blessed end. Very respectfully,

Your friend and fellow-citizen,
J. E. SNODGRASS, Elector at large.

AN INCIDENT.—The Rev. Jesse McBride, the well-known Wesleyan preacher, states, in a letter to the *True Wesleyan*, an interesting incident to which he was a witness in a city in Ohio—which we presume, from the initial he gives, to be Cleveland. He had been preaching to a crowded audience in a Church of Coloured people, and when he had concluded a brother-clergyman arose, and, after an exhortation, said he had a matter of great importance to lay before his hearers. The scene that followed is thus described by Mr. McBride:

Here's a man pointing his finger to one of the most perfect specimens of humanity I ever saw—a man about six feet tall—a full broad chest, with a very large and well-balanced head—neatly and richly clad, looking as calm as summer evenings; here's a man with whom I was acquainted in the days of his boyhood; he is a stranger here, just from Kentucky—a fugitive—he is one of your *big* servants—the servant of a *big* man; he left his master (!) Friday evening, and got safely here last evening—by to morrow evening he will be across the Branch out here (Lake Erie). We want to raise money to pay his fare the rest of the way to the land of the free. And now brethren, I have confidence in you—you will do your duty—just bring on your change. And at the word, here they come with cheerful hearts and open purses rattling down the material aid in showers.

The money being raised, the preacher said *there sir*, as he handed the money to the fugitive, and added, God has brought you thus far, and He'll give us grace not to allow you to be taken back. Yes, and *strength too!* responded some one at my right, in a significant tone of voice.

The fugitive reached up over the stand, and said to me, "Do you think I did wrong in leaving my master?" No Sir! Thank God for the grace that put it into your heart and enabled you to escape, I answered.

The preacher said, Now we must sing a fugitive song for our brother. I presume he never heard one? fixing his eye on the fugitive.

They then struck and sung And O! what good singing. O, come, come away, &c.

We then knelt down and the fugitive led in returning thanks to God for his deliverance—prayed for his wife and children, who were yet in Slavery—that God might bind up their broken hearts, keep them from the evils they will be necessarily exposed to while in Slavery—prayed for their deliverance—for his own safe arrival in Canada, &c., &c. As he closed, the writer led the audience in thanking God for putting it into the heart of this brother and forty others who had safely landed in Canada, last week, from Slavery—in praying that God would make the slaves uneasy and struggle for freedom—that He would give them grace and resolution to leave their inhuman task master, that He would preserve and take care of them in their flight; and cause the oppressor to feel that he was unsafe in trying to hold our brethren as property.

'The underground railroad,' Mr. McBride adds, 'and especially the express train, is doing a good business just now. We have good and competent conductors. I reckon it would not be very safe for slave-catchers to get on the track when the bell rings at some of the depots in Northern Ohio.'

HENRY WARD BEECHER put in a speedy rejoinder to Dr. Parker's card, which we copied, last week, from the daily papers. To this Dr. Parker has, as yet, made no reply, reserving himself, possibly, for the suit which the *Observer* still threatens. That paper has certainly provided more 'entertainment' than probably even it expected. It is as pretty a quarrel as ever was seen. Mr. Beecher's Card is as follows:

AN EXAMINATION OF DR. PARKER'S CARD.

To the Editor of the New York Daily Times:

In regard to the two letters *omitted* in my narrative, I have to say, that no such letters were sent to me by Professor Stowe. I did not know of their existence, or that they ever had been written. They were *omitted*, but not *suppressed*.

Dr. Parker falls into a precisely similar omission, in his publication of the documents in this affair, in the *Observer* of October 7. The letter of Mrs. Stowe to me, and my letter to Mrs. Stowe, in relation respectively to her card, and the substituted correspondence, were both of them omitted in Dr. Parker's series of letters.

The case stands, then, that there were letters on both sides of which the other party was ignorant, and so omitted to publish; for I do Dr. Parker the justice to believe that he did not know of the existence of the letters which *he* omitted.

Dr. Parker, besides the assertion that he did not give me any sort of permission to publish the letters, appends four letters to his card, for the purpose of showing that there is in them no allusion to his "having signed or consented to the publication of these letters."

I. The first letter is his own to Dr. Stowe, written a few hours after our interview. The only sentence in it bearing upon this point is this: "But an hour before receiving it (Professor Stowe's letter) I had a friendly interview with the Rev. H. W. Beecher—an interview that seems to me to promise an amicable adjustment." If Dr. Parker's silence as to an approval of these letters is a presumption that he did not approve them, then his silence as to the *very fact* that such letters were drawn up in his study, is presumption against their existence. This presumption of silence, if it proves anything, proves too much, in a letter that mentions no details whatever, but only the mere fact of an interview.

II. As to Mr. Butler's letter, it may be remarked that it contains four points. 1. A corroboration of my account of the interview with *him*. 2. A distinct recognition of the fact that he understood that these letters were for publication. 3. That he did not expect the letters to be published *until* Dr. Parker had conferred with him respecting them. 4. But that this expectation of seeing Dr. Parker before publication did not arise from anything in *our* conversation, but from his sense of the proprieties which exist between counsel and client. On this head his language is decisive: "I have no recollection that you told me that Dr. Parker would consult me on the subject; but my expectation that he would do so was the necessary result of the relations of client and counsel existing between him and myself."

In Mr. Butler's position I do not see how he could have written a more impartial and honourable letter, and it is entirely satisfactory to me.

III. My silence respecting Dr. Parker's assent, in my letter to Mrs. Stowe, is scarcely deserving a remark, since it is plain that such a letter could have had no existence, unless I supposed Dr. Parker to have accepted this correspondence. It was a thing taken for granted, and the letter is a persuasion of Mrs. Stowe's assent to that which the whole letter implies Dr. P. had assented to. The very idea of sending for her approval letters which Dr. Parker did not like, and of persuading her to agree to documents which the other side might then reject, is absurd. Mr. Butler's idea was reasonable enough, viz.: That Dr Parker *had* assented to the letter; that Mrs. Stowe's consent was to *be* obtained; and that, *then*, a formal signature was to be effected. But Dr. Parker's view, viz.: That he did not like the letters; that they were to be modified; and yet, that they were to be sent to Mrs. Stowe for her approval, and to come back for further changes *after* her signature, will not bear a moment's investigation.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

A TAMMANY HALL ORATOR.—At a recent Democratic meeting at Tammany Hall, among other speakers was one James T. Brady, a well-known attorney and politician of this city. He passes here, we believe, for a decentish man, and, for aught we know to the contrary, is associated with by members of the bar, as a gentleman; whether this may be stated to their discredit or in his defence, is a point we cannot now stop to consider. For ourselves we know nothing personally of Mr. Brady, except that he was the opposing counsel when George Kirk, who had been arrested as a fugitive slave, sued for his freedom on a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and that when several ladies waited upon the Mayor in his behalf, they received from Mr. Brady precisely the sort of treatment which ladies might expect from a man who would use the language of the following passage from his speech at the Tammany Hall meeting above referred to:

"When he (Gen. Scott) ventured into the political arena, and put himself in a position which was obtained for him by the meanest, the vilest wretch that was ever permitted to hold a high station among the public dignitaries—by a man who, so help me heaven, I sincerely believe, would have the corpse of his mother disinterred and laid upon the green sward in spring, if he thought by doing so he could get a single vote to further his purposes—I mean Wm. H. Seward—a name to be cursed and loathed as long as anything decent or respectable remains on earth—he is the man who received General Scott the other day at Auburn—"sweet Auburn, loveliest village of the plain;" remarkable for two things, now separate, and two things only—Wm. H. Seward and a State Prison—and how the two managed to keep separate so long, it is impossible to conjecture.

"At Auburn, Gen. Scott proved one thing that has entitled him to my highest consideration and regard. He proved that he had a natural ear for music; for there he said he liked "that rich Irish brogue" (laughter). Well, so do I, and like it when it emanates from the honest, true-hearted Irishman—not from the Jemmy O'Briens, not from the Castlereaghs, not from that most despicable of all Irishmen, who, thank God, has at last been put in a position to which it is an insult to the worms to consign the miserable wretch—I mean Arthur, Duke of Wellington (groans). There is no occasion to groan, for if there be justice in heaven, all the groans that ever issued from the heart of man will be nothing to those which will come from him at the day of judgment.

"It has been my good fortune to gratify the earnest wish of my life in travelling from the Giant's Causeway to the Lakes of Killarney, to behold one of the most beautiful countries on the face of the earth, whose genius no other nation has surpassed, and whose wit has never been equalled except by France. I associated with a people whose countrymen have gained honour on every soil but their own, and who have been reduced, by the villainy of traitors born in their own land, to a state of almost helpless bondage. And when I found that Gen. Scott undertook to deny the justice of inflicting death upon an Irishman who had been a traitor, in this country, I thought that the Irishman who would applaud him for it, and who would not volunteer as hangman to execute the traitor, would seduce his own mother."

The *Evening Post*—politically Mr. Brady's friend—says of these extracts, that they "will satisfy our readers that we do Mr. Brady's speech no injustice, when we characterize it as one of the most revolting and wanton exhibitions of profanity and malignity we ever witnessed, even in a political speaker."

'UNCLE TOM' IN ENGLAND.—The London Correspondent of The (N. Y.) *Times* says, speaking of new publications, "there has been no sensation in the literary world since the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of which new additions are appearing daily; the public appetite seems indeed to be insatiable with regard to this book—and the numerous publishers who have got hold of it, can scarcely produce it sufficiently fast for the demand" A gentleman recently returned from England says the book is in the hands of everybody, from the chimney-sweep to the toad. The Earl of Carlisle, in a letter to the editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, says of it:

"With respect to the work in question, its genius, its pathos, its humour, must sufficiently commend themselves to its nearly unparalleled number of readers: *I feel that I have seen and known enough to convince my own mind equally of its general* FAIRNESS, FIDELITY AND TRUTH."

FREE SOIL MEETINGS IN MARYLAND.—The following, say a correspondent, is the way in which the *Carrolltonian*, a Hunker Whig paper, published in Carroll County, Maryland, notices a Free Soil meeting:

A large and respectable meeting of the friends of the several political parties was held at Union Bridge, on Friday evening, Oct 15. After the meetig was organized by calling J. Switzer to the Chair, and appointing S Fisher, Secretary, Wm. Hughes, one of the Electors for the State at large of the Free Democratic party, addressed the meeting in a few pertinent and appropriate remarks on the various political organizations of the country, with a brief exposition of the principles and aims of the Free Democracy; after which, Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, also an elector, spoke for nearly two hours, in a very eloquent and logical manner, endeavouring to demonstrate to the understandings of the auditory that the platform of the Free Democratic party is the one that every true American republican should upon. The Dr. tried, by clear and convincing arguments, to prove the correctness of his own and his party's positions, without reviling or abusing the objects and aims of either of the great political parties of the day.

Such liberality, in the very face of slaveholding patrons, is well calculated to shame some of the party organs in the Free States.

G. B. STEBBINS.—We learn from a private letter that Mr. G. B. Stebbins, while lecturing at Phillipsville, a few evenings since, was hit so severely in the eye, by an egg thrown by some miscreant, that serious apprehensions were felt of a permanent injury. When our correspondent wrote, however, it seemed likely to recover. Mr. Stebbins has frequently been assailed when lecturing, but was never before injured; on one occasion, a kettle of tar was actually prepared for him, but the scoundrels who proposed to apply it had not the courage to execute their design.

Mr. Stebbins has gone on a lecturing tour to Michigan, where, we have no doubt, he will give a good report of himself.

AN exchange paper observes that "a gentleman who saw General Scott at Madison, says he saw him conversing with a German, a Frenchman, and an Engman, all at the same time, and the old General was entertaining all, each in his own native tongue." The gentleman should have explained the character of the entertainment. A great many people have been highly entertained, in one way, by the speeches of the General, in his own tongue, upon his Western tour; and if his use of German and French is of the same sort, the statement is very credible.

WE learn that a Society has recently been formed at Friendship, in this State, under the title of "The Friendship Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society." A good deal of Anti-Slavery seed has been sown in that neighbourhood recently, which has already yielded this excellent fruit. We hope it may yet bring forth more, and abundantly.

THE JERRY RESCUE CASES, which came up before the U. S. District Court, last week, at Albany, have all been remitted to the next session in January. It is very probable they will never be reached at all.

Domestic Correspondence.

FRANK PIERCE—DEMOCRACY—CHANCE FOR ABOLITION, &c.

FROM OUR NEW HAMPSHIRE CORRESPONDENT.

MR. GAY: In a communication addressed to you some weeks since, I stated that Gen. Franklin Pierce was familiarly called here Frank Pierce, usually pronounced *Perse*—although some nice politicians had attempted of late to change the name in pronunciation, calling him *Pe-us*, but that the name did not stay changed among the people at large in this vicinity. I mention this again, because that new-fangled word, *Peus*, was misprinted.

I said nothing then in particular in relation to Frank's politics. He claims to be a Democrat of the purest and straightest sect. There are three kinds of Democracy: First, the true Democracy founded on the principles of the Declaration of Independence; second, the Democracy which holds to the equality of nations or classes, and of individuals in their respective classes, but does not recognise the equality in rights of the mass of mankind. Of such have been most of the Democrats of the United States from the adoption of the Constitution up to this time. But here in New Hampshire there is still another sort of Democracy, which has no settled principles, but is remarkably progressive. It is in favour of corporations or anti-corporation, railroad or anti-railroad, Anti-Slavery or pro-slavery, according to the will and pleasure or dictation of certain assuming, ambitious managing politicians in the town of Concord, a self-constituted regency or dictatorship for the Democratic party of the State. I may hereafter give you some items of information as to their party management. This sort of Democracy, for want of a better name, may be denominated THE SNOB DEMOCRACY. The Democratic nominee for the Presidency is of this class of politicians.

Some people lament the degeneracy and folly of the party politicians in adopting the late Baltimore platforms. As for myself, I indulge in no such lamentation. Their pro-slavery ultraism will hasten a crisis. One extreme is apt to follow another. The tighter a bow is drawn, the sooner it will break. If the Snob Democracy of New Hampshire should be transferred to Washington, there would be a hopeful chance for Abolition. The Snob Democrats, after climbing to the heights of power by means of the pro-slavery ladder, and finding themselves snugly seated in office, may wake up some sunny morning and imagine they have no further occasion for the old ladder to keep them in place. They may look abroad over the country and discover that the free States are stronger than the slave States, and hence address themselves to the sources of power. To this end, they may first prohibit Slavery in the territories and abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia. They may then interdict the inter-State slave trade and the constwise slave immigration; and in the end, for "THE COMMON DEFENCE" of the country, abolish Slavery throughout the Union. They are the very men for great and startling enterprises; and it may be that, in the order of an overruling Providence, they may become the instruments of a consummation so astounding and glorious. GRANITE.

Kearsage Mount, Oct. 18, 1852.

LETTER FROM W. L. CRANDAL.

SYRACUSE, Oct. 18, 1852.

Editor Anti-Slavery Standard:

YOUR printer, last week, chose to make me say—"Do you suppose I thought of the *former?*"—whereas, I wrote, "Do you suppose I thought of the *forms?*" I beg to make this correction, as on the word which your type-setter withdrew, in order to substitute another, turns the whole argument. If an innocent man is to be hung—if a man is to be made a slave—what to him are the "*forms?*" That is the idea. The Fugitive Act proposes to reduce a Freeman to the condition of Slave. Its various provisions accomplish this—no more, no less. Now, of what consequence is it what those provisions are, so long as they profess to aim at this inhuman and diabolical crime? They are but "*forms!*"

I hope no man who claims to have a drop of blood in him which sympathizes with Freedom will ever say that these "forms" are of consequence, lest "freemen" be taken by it to the hell of Southern Slavery. "FREEMEN!" indeed! What man who ever lived had a more perfect title to Freedom, on the morning of the 1st day of October, 1851, than the man JERRY? Not one! And are we to be told that the fact that he had worked half his lifetime for nothing, and been degraded to the condition of a beast of burden, with no will of his own, is a reason why he, rather than any man of equal age, born in Syracuse, should pass the remainder of his days in that bondage? Not by the friends of Freedom, surely. *We* have no standard by which to give value to "forms" which can make one man a slave, and cannot make another a slave. We can see no virtue in such "forms." It is for the friends of Oppression to see virtue in provisions of law by which one man may be, and another man may not be, made a slave. I repeat, *we* can see no difference between coming to Syracuse and making a man a slave, who, as such, has served half a lifetime in Georgia, and making a man a slave who was born in Syracuse, and has always lived here.

One word more. My last letter to you was written in great haste, and I had no time to put in qualifications, as to inferences on personal matters. I wish to say, therefore, that it was of "Treason" I was talking. I undoubtedly committed "treason" on the 1st day of October, 1851; for I *wished* with my whole soul that Jerry might be rescued, and my manner might have led some people to suppose I was in earnest. That was "treason." But, in reference to the actual Rescue of JERRY—the immortal deed that never dies—a deed the most honourable in American History, I wish to say I was not there. My honour, in this matter, lies in honouring, with my whole soul, those who were there. I do not know as I am capable of so great a deed. No one can tell till he tries. I did nothing worth "speaking of." I say this to make sure that no one would think me appropriating honours which it is my highest delight to award to others.

Truly yours, W. L. CRANDAL.

Miscellaneous News.

MR. DUCANSO, the negro artist of Cincinnati, who has lately painted the "Garden of Eden," has been offered $800 for it. Rev. Jas. Freeman Clark says that he is the best landscape painter in Cincinnati.

MARY ANN WHEELER, a Milwaukie milliner: shot her seducer in the streets of that city on Friday, 18th, and has been committed for trial on a charge of wilful murder.

KOSSUTH'S SISTER.—Madame Zsulavski, Kossuth's sister, who, with her family, arrived here a short time ago, has taken the large new house on the corner of Fourteenth street and Irving place, which she has handsomely fitted up for boarders.

MISS ELIZABETH DUVALL has been appointed by the Postmaster General, postmistress at Davidsonville, Anne Arundel county Maryland, vice N. D. Duvall, deceased. The lady appointed performed the duties of the office for several months previous to the death of her father with such acceptability that the whole neighbourhood unites—and another candidate declines—in favour of her permanent appointment.

THE *Louisville Journal* of the 13th inst. says: "We ourselves know the fact that preparations *have long been in progress for another Cuban expedition*, the design being that it should be far better arranged and more formidable in numbers than the former ones."

CONVICTED OF AN ATTEMPT TO MURDER.—Henry, a slave, was convicted at Charlestown, Va., on Tuesday, of attempting to kill Mr. Harrison Anderson. The *Free Press* says:

A majority of the court thought that he ought to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, but as this required a unanimous agreement, he was sentenced to receive five hundred lashes, not more than thirty-nine at any one time. The physician of the jail was instructed to see that they should not be administered too frequently, and *only* when, in his opinion, he could bear them.

THE *British Friend*, the organ of the Society of Friends, announces the formation of a fund for the purpose of "removing obstructions to matrimony among the poorer classes of Friends." A thousand pounds has been raised and invested in mortgages, the interest of which is to be *lent*, in marriage portions of ten pounds each, to deserving persons contemplating marriage, whose property is less than thirty pounds' value.

DIFFERENT journals have assigned a different value to Jenny Lind's donation for the establishment of free schools for girls in Sweden. The Paris correspondent of *The Boston Atlas* says it was $200,000, or 400,000 rix dollars *banco* in all; that $60,000 of it was sent while Jenny was in this country, and that $140,000 have now been sent from Hamburg in the form of a bill of exchange on London, drawn in favour of M. Themauaer, Arch-Priest, and Dr. Wieselgreen, Pastor of the Cathedral of Stockholm.

ARREST AND RESCUE OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.—PITTSBURGH, Thursday, Oct. 21, 1852.—We learn from Sandusky, Ohio, that great excitement was occasioned in that city yesterday by the arrest and subsequent rescue of some fugitive slaves. It appears that, during the morning, a number of fugitives from Kentucky arrived in that city, *en route* for Canada. Immediately on their arrival they were escorted by their friends to the steamer Arrow, but just as the boat was about to leave the fugitives were arrested by some slave-catchers, who attempted to take them ashore, in which they were defeated by the combined efforts of a number of persons of both colours, after a sharp struggle. The slave-catchers then left the boat, and the fugitives are now on their way to Canada. The Kentuckians are much chagrined, but console themselves with the reflection that the citizens are responsible.

☞WE cut the following from *The Wyoming Co. Mirror:*

MR. EDITOR: Seeing in *The New York Tribune* a letter to Gerrit Smith, and his reply, respecting his wealth, &c., brought to my mind an old occurrence.

Some twelve years since, while practicing medicine in Massachusetts, I was requested to visit professionally the family of Rev. Dr. B., residing in a neighbouring town. I found himself and wife in a fixed consumption, and attended them until their death. I found the Doctor a very sociable and pleasant man, but exceedingly afraid of Abolitionism. He used, he said, when Pastor of the Church in Cazenovia, to be much acquainted with Gerrit Smith, and much pleased with him. "But," said he, "he has become an Abolitionist, and, I fear, lost his balance, and where he will end I know not."

In course of time, the father and mother died. Soon after, the oldest daughter received a letter, saying—

"You do not remember me, but I do you, a little girl, when I used to visit at your father's. I see by the newspapers that both your parents are dead. I sympathize with you in your great loss. And as clergymen are not accustomed to accumulate very much property, it has occurred to me that the inclosed One Hundred Dollar Bill may be of use to you, which please accept from your father's friend. GERRIT SMITH."

I was particularly interested in this letter, and could not think that however much Mr. Smith's Abolitionism had destroyed his balance wheel, it had not prevented his remembering the orphan children of his former friend. D.

A VENERABLE PASTOR.—Rev. Dr. Lowell, of Boston, recently preached to his people his fortieth anniversary sermon. Among his reminiscences were the following:

"It was in a wooden edifice, occupying indeed the spot on which we are now assembled, but then standing almost alone in the outskirts of the town, with few buildings between the church and the river, that I preached my first sermon here. It had much the aspect, as far as I now remember, of a country church within and without, with a few houses in its neighbourhood, and others scattered here and there in the fields, in what was then called New Boston. It was to a parish of whom at my ordination it was said, 'Your history has been illustrious and we honour you, while we venerate your pastors.'

"I well remember the day, and something, it may be, of my emotions, as I ascended the green eminence in which the church stood, by one of the many paths which, in seventy years, had been marked out by the footsteps of the worshipers who had gone up in company to the house of God. I had just returned from pursuing my studies abroad, after an absence of two years. It was to the place of my nativity to which I had returned; but in this parish I was an entire stranger. I had probably had intercourse only with the officer of the Church who was employed to ask for my services, who is, long since, numbered with the dead—if they can be said to die, who truly live! and whose memory is very precious to me. My predecessor was one of the last persons I had seen before I left my country. I have a vivid remembrance of the good old man, 'simple, grave, sincere.' He said to me, 'you will return to take the place of one of us, probably mine.' It was appointed, in the Providence of God, that I should take his place. And that a larger portion of the spirit of the ascended Elijah had fallen, with his mantle, upon his immediate successor.

"Few, very few, are among the living on earth who heard my first sermon here. Of those who were recorded as proprietors, only two. Of the heads of families, of both sexes, five or six remain. Of those who were ministers in the town, at that time, not one. Of the thirteen ministers who officiated at my ordination, not one. One of the earliest taken was my classmate and friend, who had breathed the wish, that 'our gracious Master, who, when he was on earth, sent forth his seventy Evangelists, by two and two, would send us forth together, by his authority would permit us to travel together in company through a useful ministry, and would enable us to return to his presence at last, rejoicing to find that our names had been written with the names of our people, in the book of life. How short was our journey together! How brief, yet how brilliant, was his ministry on earth! In the best portion of his devout aspiration, may it yet be fulfilled!"

DONATION TO A PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Mayor of Boston laid before the Board of Aldermen, on the 18th inst, the following copy of a letter from Joshua Bates, Esq., of the house of Baring, Brothers, & Co., London, to his Honour, Benjamin Seaver, Mayor of the city of Boston:

LONDON, Oct. 1, 1852.

Dear Sir: I am indebted to you for a copy of the Report of the Trustees of the Public Library for the city of Boston, which I have perused with great interest, being impressed with the importance to the rising and future generations of such a library as is recommended. And while I am sure that in a liberal and wealthy community like that of Boston there will be no want of funds to carry out the recommendations of the trustees, it may accelerate its accomplishment, and establish the library at once on a scale that will do credit to the city,

Miscellaneous Department.

A NARRATIVE OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

ALTHOUGH the first slaves, introduced into the American colonies from the coast of Africa, were negroes of a very dark complexion, with woolly hair, and it was thought that Slavery would be confined to the blacks, yet the present slave population of America is far from being black. This change in colour is attributable solely to the unlimited power which the slave-owner exercises over his victim. There being no lawful marriages amongst slaves, and no encouragement to slave women to be virtuous and chaste, there seems to be no limits to the system of amalgamation carried on between master and slave. This accounts for the fact, that most persons who go from Europe, or from the Free States, into Carolina or Virginia, are struck with the different shades of colour amongst the slaves. On a plantation employing fifty slaves, it is not uncommon to see one third of them mulattoes, and some of these nearly white.

In the year 1831, there resided in the State of Virginia, a slave who was so white that no one would suppose for a moment that a drop of African blood coursed through his veins. His skin was fair, hair soft, straight, fine, and white; his eyes blue, nose prominent, lips thin; his head well formed, forehead high and prominent; and he was often taken for a white free person by those who did not know him. This made his condition as a slave still more intolerable; for one so white seldom ever receives fair treatment at the hands of his fellow slaves; and the whites usually regard such slaves as persons who, if not often flogged and otherwise ill treated, to remind them of their condition, would soon "forget" that they were slaves, and "think themselves as good as white folks." During that year, an insurrection broke out amongst the slave population, known as the Southampton Rebellion, or the 'Nat Turner Insurrection.' Five or six hundred slaves, believing in the doctrine that "all men are created equal," armed with such weapons as they could get, commenced a war for freedom. Amongst these was George, the white slave of whom we have spoken. He had been employed as a house servant, and had heard his master and visitors speak of the down-trodden and oppressed Poles; he heard them talk of going to Greece to fight for Grecian liberty, and against the oppressors of that ill-fated people. George, fired with the love of freedom, and zeal for the cause of his enslaved countrymen, joined the insurrection. The result of that struggle for liberty is well known. The slaves were defeated; and those who were not taken prisoners, took refuge in the dismal swamps. These were ordered to surrender; but instead of doing so, they challenged their proud oppressors to take them, and immediately renewed the war. A ferocious struggle now commenced between the parties; but not until the United States troops were called in, did they succeed in crushing a handful of men and women who were fighting for freedom. The negroes were hunted with dogs, and many who were caught were burnt alive; while some were hung, and others flogged and banished from the State.

Among those who were sentenced to be hanged, was George. He was placed in prison to await the day of execution, which would give him ten days to prepare for his doom. George was the son of a member of the American Congress, his mother being a servant in the principal hotel in Washington, where members of Congress usually put up. After the birth of George, his mother was sold to a negro trader, and he to a Virginian, who sent agents through the country to buy up young slaves to raise for the market. George was only about nineteen years of age when he unfortunately became connected with the insurrection. Mr. Green, who owned George, was a comparatively good master, and prided himself on treating his slaves better than most men. This gentlemen was also the owner of a girl who was perfectly white, with straight hair and prominent features. This girl was said to be the daughter of her own master. A feeling of attachment sprang up between Mary and George, which proved to be more than mere friendship, and upon which we base the burden of this narrative.

After poor George had been sentenced to death and cast into prison, Mary begged and obtained leave to visit George, and administer to him the comforts of religion, as she was a member of a religious body, while George was not. As George had been a considerable favourite with Mrs. Green, Mary had no difficulty in obtaining permission to pay a daily visit to him, to whom she had pledged her heart and hand. At one of these meetings, and only four days from the time fixed for the execution, while Mary was seated in George's cell, it occurred to her that she might yet save him from a felon's doom. She revealed to him the secret that was then occupying her thoughts, viz., that George should exchange clothes with her, and thus attempt his escape in disguise. But he would not for a single moment listen to the proposition. Not that he feared detection; but he would not consent to place an innocent and affectionate girl in a position where she might have to suffer for him. Mary plead, but in vain—George was inflexible. The poor girl left her lover with a heavy heart, regretting that her scheme had proved unsuccessful.

Towards the close of the next day, Mary again appeared at the prison door for admission, and was soon by the side of him whom she so ardently loved. While there the clouds which had overhung the city for some hours, broke, and the rain fell in torrents amid the most terrific thunder and lightning. In the most persuasive manner possible, Mary again importuned George to avail himself of her assistance to escape from an ignominious death. After assuring him that she, not being the person condemned, would not receive any injury, he at last consented, and they began to exchange apparel. As George was of small stature, and both were white, there was no difficulty in his passing out without detection: and as she usually left the cell weeping, with handkerchief in hand, and sometimes at her face, he had only to adopt this mode and his escape was safe. They had kissed each other and Mary had told George where he would find a small parcel of provisions which she had placed in a secluded spot, when the prison-keeper opened the door and said, "Come, girl, it is time for you to go." George again embraced Mary, and passed out of the jail. It was already dark and the street lamps were lighted, so that our hero in his new dress had no dread of detection. The provisions were sought out and found, and poor George was soon on the road towards Canada. But neither of them had once thought of a change of dress for George when he should have escaped, and he walked but a short distance before he felt that a change of his apparel would facilitate his progress. But he dared not go amongst even his coloured associates, for fear of being betrayed. However, he made the best of his way on towards Canada, hiding in the woods during the day, and travelling by the guidance of the North Star at night.

One morning, George arrived on the banks of the Ohio river, and found his journey had terminated, unless he could get some one to take him across the river in a secret manner, for he would not be permitted to cross in any of the ferry boats; it being a penalty for crossing a slave, besides the value of the slave. He concealed himself in the tall grass and weeds near the river, to see if he could embrace an opportunity to cross. He had been in his hiding-place but a short time, when he observed a man in a small boat, floating near the shore, evidently fishing. His first impulse was to call out to the man and ask him to take him over to the Ohio side, but the fear that the man was a slaveholder, or one who might possibly arrest him, deterred him from it. The man, after rowing and floating about for some time, fastened the boat to the root of a tree, and started to a neighbouring farm house. This was George's moment, and he seized it. Running down the bank he unfastened the boat, jumped in, and, with all the expertness of one accustomed to a boat, rowed across the river and landed on the Ohio side.

Being now in a free State, he thought he might with perfect safety travel on towards Canada. He had, however, gone but a few miles, when he discovered two men on horseback coming behind him. He felt sure that they could not be in pursuit of him, yet he did not wish to be seen by them, so he turned into another road leading to a house near by. The men followed, and were but a short distance from George, when he ran up to a farm house, before which was standing a farmer-looking man, in a broad-brimmed hat and straight-collared coat, whom he implored to save him from the "slave catchers." The farmer told him to go into the barn near by; he entered by the front door, the farmer following, and closing the door behind George, but remaining outside, and gave directions to his hired man as to what should be done with George. The slaveholders by this time had dismounted, and were in the front of the barn demanding admittance, and charging the farmer with secreting their slave woman, for George was still in the dress of a woman. The Friend, for the farmer proved to be a member of the Society of Friends, told the slave-owners that if they wished to search his barn, they must first get an officer and a search warrant. While the parties were disputing, the farmer began nailing up the front door, and the hired man served the back door in the same way. The slaveholders, finding that they could not prevail on the Friend to allow them to get the slave, determined to go in search of an officer. One was left to see that the slave did not escape from the barn, while the other went off at full speed to Mount Pleasant, the nearest town. George was not the slave of either of these men, nor were they in pursuit of him, but they had lost a woman who had been seen in that vicinity, and when they saw poor George in the disguise of a female, and attempting to elude pursuit, they felt sure they were close upon their victim. However, if they had caught him, although he was not their slave, they would have taken him back and placed him in jail, and there he would have remained until his owner arrived.

After an absence of nearly two hours, the slave-owner returned with an officer and found the Friend still driving large nails into the door. In a triumphant tone, and with a corresponding gesture, he handed the search-warrant to the Friend, and said, "There, Sir, now I will see if I can't get my Nigger." "Well," said the Friend, "thou hast gone to work according to law, and thou can now go into my barn." "Lend me your hammer that I may get the door open," said the slaveholder. "Let me see the warrant again." And after reading it over once more, he said, "I see nothing in this paper which says I must supply thee with tools to open my door; if thou wishes to go in, thou must get a hammer elsewhere." The sheriff said, "I will go to a neighbouring farm and borrow something which will introduce us to Miss Dinah;" and he immediately went in search of tools. In a short time the officer returned, and they commenced an assault and battery upon the barn door, which soon yielded; and in went the slaveholder and officer, and began turning up the hay and using all other means to find the lost property; but, to their astonishment, the slave was not there. After all hope of getting Dinah was gone, the slave-owner, in a rage, said to the Friend, "My Nigger is not here." "I did not tell thee there was ony one here." "Yes, but I saw her go in, and you shut the door behind her, and if she was not in the barn, what did you nail the door for?" "Can't I do what I please with my own barn door? Now I will tell thee; thou need trouble thyself no more, for the person thou art after entered the front door and went out at the back door, and is a long way from here by this time. Thou and thy friend must be somewhat fatigued by this time; won't thou go in and take a little dinner with me?" We need not say that this cool invitation of the good Quaker was not accepted by the slaveholders. George in the meantime had been taken to a Friend's dwelling some miles away, where, after laying aside his female attire, and being snugly dressed up in a straight-collared coat, and pantaloons to match, was again put on the right road towards Canada. Two weeks after this found him in the town of St. Catharines, working on the farm of Colonel Strut, and attending a night-school.

George, however, did not forget his promise to use all means in his power to get Mary out of Slavery. He, therefore, laboured with all his might to obtain money with which to employ some one to go back to Virginia for Mary. After nearly six months' labour at St. Catherines, he employed an English missionary to go and see if the girl could be purchased, and at what price. The missionary went accordingly, but returned with the sad intelligence that on account of Mary's aiding George to escape, the court had compelled Mr. Green to sell her out of the State, and she had been sold to a Negro trader and taken to the New Orleans market. As all hope of getting the girl was now gone, George resolved to quit the American continent forever. He immediately took passage in a vessel laden with timber, bound for Liverpool, and in five weeks from that time he was standing on the quay of the great English seaport. With little or no education, he found many difficulties in the way of getting a respectable living. However, he obtained a situation as porter in a large house in Manchester, where he worked during the day, and took private lessons at night. In this way he laboured for three years, and was then raised to the situation of clerk. George was so white as easily to pass for a white man, and being somewhat ashamed of his African descent, he never once mentioned the fact of his having been a slave. He soon became a partner in the firm that employed him, and was now on the road to wealth.

In the year 1842, just ten years after George Green (for he adopted his master's name) arrived in England, he visited France, and spent some days at Dunkirk. It was towards sunset, on a warm day in the month of October, that Mr. Green, after strolling some distance from the Hotèl de Leon, entered a burial ground and wandered long alone among the silent dead, gazing upon the many green graves and marble tombstones of those who once moved on the theatre of busy life, and whose sounds of gaiety once fell upon the ear of man. All nature around was hushed in silence, and seemed to partake of the general melancholy which hung over the quiet resting-place of departed mortals. After tracing the varied inscriptions which told the characters or conditions of the departed, and viewing the mounds beneath which the dust of mortality slumbered, he had now reached a secluded spot, near to where an aged weeping willow bowed its thick foliage to the ground, as though anxious to hide from the scrutinizing gaze of curiosity the grave beneath it. Mr. Green seated himself upon a marble tomb, and began to read Roscoe's *Leo X.*, a copy of which he had under his arm. It was then about twilight, and he had scarcely gone through half a page, when he observed a lady in black, leading a boy some five years old up one of the paths; and as the lady's black veil was over her face, he felt somewhat at liberty to eye her more closely. While looking at her, the lady gave a scream and appeared to be in a fainting position, when Mr. Green sprang from his seat in time to save her from falling to the ground. At this moment, an elderly gentleman was seen approaching with a rapid step, who, from his appearance, was evidently the lady's father, or one intimately connected with her. He came up, and, in a confused manner, asked what was the matter. Mr. Green explained as well as he could. After taking up the smelling bottle which had fallen from her hand, and holding it a short time to her face, she soon began to revive. During all this time the lady's veil had so covered her face, that Mr. Green had not seen it. When she had so far recovered as to be able to raise her head, she again screamed, and fell back into the arms of the old man. It now appeared quite certain that either the countenance of George Green, or some other object, was the cause of these fits of fainting; and the old gentleman, thinking it was the former, in rather a petulant tone, said, "I will thank you, sir, if you will leave us alone." The child whom the lady was leading had now set up a squall; and amid the death-like appearance of the lady, the harsh look of the old man, and the cries of the boy, Mr. Green left the grounds and returned to his hotel.

Whilst seated by the window, and looking out upon the crowded street, with every now and then the strange scene in the grave-yard vividly before him, Mr. Green thought of the book he had been reading, and, remembering that he had left it on the tomb, where he had suddenly dropped it when called to the assistance of the lady, he immediately determined to return in search of it. After a walk of some twenty minutes, he was again over the spot where he had been an hour before, and from which he had been so unceremoniously expelled by the old man. He looked in vain for the book; it was nowhere to be found: nothing save the boquet which the lady had dropped, and which lay half-buried in the grass from having been trodden upon, indicated that any one had been there that evening. Mr. Green took up the bunch of flowers, and again returned to the hotel.

After passing a sleepless night, and hearing the clock strike six, he dropped into a sweet sleep, from which he did not awake until roused by the rap of a servant, who, entering his room, handed him a note which ran as follows—"Sir: I owe an apology for the inconvenience to which you were subjected last evening, and if you will honour us with your presence to dinner to day at four o'clock, I shall be most happy to give you due satisfaction. My servant will be in waiting for you at half-past three. I am, sir, your obedient servant, J. Devenant. October 23. To George Green, Esq."

The servant who handed this note to Mr. Green, informed him that the bearer was waiting for a reply. He immediately resolved to accept the invitation, and replied accordingly. Who this person was, and how his name and the hotel where he was stopping had been found out, was indeed a mystery. However, he waited impatiently for the hour when he was to see this new acquaintance, and get the mysterious meeting in the grave-yard solved.

The clock on a neighbouring church had scarcely ceased striking three, when the servant announced that a carriage had called for Mr. Green. In less than half an hour, he was seated in a most sumptuous barouch, drawn by two beautiful iron grays, and rolling along over a splendid gravel road, completely shaded by large trees which appeared to have been the accumulating growth of many centuries. The carriage soon stopped in front of a low villa, and this too was imbedded in magnificent trees covered with moss. Mr. Green alighted and was shown into a superb drawing room, the walls of which were hung with fine specimens from the hands of the great Italian painters, and one by a German artist representing a beautiful monkish legend connected with "The Holy Catherine," an illustrious lady of Alexandria. The furniture had an antique and dignified appearance. High backed chairs stood around the room; a venerable mirror stood on the mantle shelf; rich curtains of crimson damask hung in folds at either side of the large windows; and a rich Turkey carpet covered the floor. In the centre stood a table covered with books, in the midst of which was an old-fashioned vase filled with fresh flowers, whose fragrance was exceedingly pleasant. A faint light, together with the quietness of the hour, gave beauty beyond description to the whole scene.

Mr. Green had scarcely seated himself upon the sofa, when the elderly gentleman whom he had met the previous evening made his appearance, followed by the little boy, and introduced himself as Mr. Devenant. A moment more, and a lady—a beautiful brunette—dressed in black, with long curls of a chesnut colour hanging down her cheeks, entered the room. Her eyes were of a dark hazel, and her whole appearance indicated that she was a native of a southern clime. The door at which she entered was opposite to where the two gentlemen were seated. They immediately rose; and Mr. Devenant was in the act of introducing her to Mr. Green, when he observed that the latter had sunk back upon the sofa, and the last word that he remembered to have heard was, "It is her." After this, all was dark and dreamy: how long he remained in this condition it was for another to tell. When he awoke he found himself stretched upon the sofa, with his boots off, his neckerchief removed, shirt collar unbottoned, and his head resting upon a pillow. By his site sat the old man, with the smelling bottle in the one hand, and a glass of water in the other, and the little boy standing at the foot of the sofa. As soon as Mr. Green had so far recovered as to be able to speak, he said, "Where am I, and what does this mean?" "Wait a while," replied the old man, "and I will tell you all." After the lapse of some ten minutes he rose from the sofa, adjusted his apparel, and said, "I am now ready to hear anything you have to say." "You were born in America?" said the old man. "Yes," he replied. "And you were acquainted with a girl named Mary?" continued the old man. "Yes, and I loved her as I can love none other." "The lady whom you met so mysteriously last evening is Mary," replied Mr. Devenant. George Green was silent, but the fountains of mingled grief and joy stole out from beneath his eye lashes, and glistened like pearls upon his pale and marble-like cheeks. At this juncture the lady again entered the room. Mr. Green sprang from the sofa, and they fell into each other's arms, to the surprise of the old man and little George, and to the amusement of the servants who had crept up one by one, and were hid behind the doors or loitering in the hall. When they had given vent to their feelings, they resumed their seats and each in turn related the adventures through which they had passed. "How did you find out my name and address?" asked Mr. Green. "After you had left us in the grave-yard, our little George said, 'O, mamma, if there aint a book!' and picked it up and brought it to us. Papa opened it, and said, 'The gentleman's name is written in it, and here is a card of the Hotel de Leon, where I suppose he is stopping.' Papa wished to leave the book, and said it was all a fancy of mine that I had ever seen you before, but I was perfectly convinced that you were my own George Green. Are you married?" "No, I am not." "Then, thank God!" exclaimed Mrs. Devenant. The old man who had been silent all this time, said, "Now, sir, I must apologise for the trouble you were put to last evening." "And are you single now?" "Yes" she replied. "This is indeed the Lord's doings," said Mr. Green, at the same time bursting into a flood of tears. Although Mr. Devenant was past the age when men should think upon matrimonial subjects, yet this scene brought vividly before his eyes the days when he was a young man, and had a wife living, and he thought it time to call their attention to dinner, which was then waiting. We need scarcely add, that Mr. Green and Mrs. Devenant did very little towards diminishing the dinner that day

After dinner the lovers (for such we have to call them) gave their experience from the time that George Green left the jail, dressed in Mary's clothes. Up to that time Mr. Green's was substantially as we have related it. Mrs. Devenant's was as follows: "The night after you left the prison," said she, "I did not shut my eyes in sleep. The next morning, about eight o'clock, Peter the gardener, came to the jail to see if I had been there the night before, and was informed that I had left a little after dark. About an hour after, Mr. Green came himself, and I need not say that he was much surprised on finding me there, dressed in your clothes. This was the first tidings they had of your escape." "What did Mr. Green say when he found that I had fled?" "O!" continued Mrs. Devenant, "he said to me when no one was near, I hope George will get off, but I fear you will have to suffer in his stead. I told him that if it must be so I was willing to die if you could live." At this moment George Green burst into tears, threw his arms around her neck, and exclaimed, "I am glad I have waited so long, with the hope of meeting you again."

Mrs. Devenant again resumed her story: "I was kept in jail three days, during which time I was visited by the magistrates and two of the judges. On the third day I was taken out, and master told me that I was liberated, upon condition that I be immediately sent out of the State. There happened to be just at that time in the neighbourhood a negro-trader, and he purchased me, and I was taken to New Orleans. On the steamboat we were kept in a close room where slaves are usually confined, so that I saw nothing of the passengers on board or the towns we passed. We arrived at New Orleans, and were all put into the slave-market for sale. I was examined by many persons, but none seemed willing to purchase me; as all thought me too white, and said I would run away and pass as a white woman. On the second day, while in the slave-market, and while planters and others were examining slaves and making their purchases, I observed a tall young man with long black hair eyeing me very closely, and then talking to the trader. I felt sure that my time had now come, but the day closed without my being sold. I did not regret this for I had heard that foreigners made the worst of masters, and I felt confident that the man who eyed me so closely was not an American.

"The next day was the Sabbath. The bells called the people to the different places of worship. Methodists sang, and Baptists immersed, and Presbyterians sprinkled, and Episcopalians read their prayers, while the ministers of the various sects preached that Christ died for all; yet there were some twenty-five or thirty of us poor creatures confined in the 'Negro Pen,' awaiting the close of the holy Sabbath, and the dawn of another day, to be again taken into the market, there to be examined like so many beasts of burden. I need not tell you with what anxiety we waited for the advent of another day. On Monday we were again brought out, and placed in rows to be inspected; and fortunately for me, I was sold before we had been on the stand an hour. I was purchased by a gentleman residing in the city, for a waiting-maid for his wife, who was just on the eve of starting for Mobile, to pay a visit to a near relation. I was then dressed to suit the situation of a maid-servant; and upon the whole, I thought that in my new dress I looked as much the lady as my mistress.

"On the passage to Mobile, who should I see among the passengers, but the tall, long-haired man that had eyed me so closely in the slave-market a few days before. His eyes were again on me, and he appeared anxious to speak to me, and I as reluctant to be spoken to. The first evening after leaving New Orleans, soon after twilight had let her curtain down, and pinned it with a star, and while I was seated on the deck of the boat, near the ladies cabin, looking upon the rippled waves, and the reflection of the moon upon the sea, all at once I saw the tall young man standing by my side. I immediately rose from my seat, and was in the act of returning to the cabin, when he in a broken accent said, "Stop a moment; I wish to have a word with you. I am your friend." I stopped and looked him full in the face, and he said, "I saw you some days since in the slave-market, and I intended to have purchased you to save you from the condition of a slave. I called on Monday, but you had been sold and had left the market. I inquired and learned who the purchaser was, and that you had to go to Mobile, so I resolved to follow you. If you are willing I will try and buy you from your present owner, and you shall be free." Although this was said in an honest and off-hand manner, I could not believe the man to be sincere in what he said. "Why should you wish to set *me* free?" I asked. "I had an only sister," he replied, "who died three years ago in France, and you are so much like her, that had I not known of her death, I would most certainly have taken you for her." "However much I may resemble your sister, you are aware that I am not her, and why take so much interest in one whom you never saw before?" "The love," said he, "which I had for my sister is transferred to you." I had all along suspected that the man was a knave, and this profession of love confirmed me in my former belief, and I turned away and left him.

"The next day, while standing in the cabin and looking through the window, the French gentleman (for such he was) came to the window while walking on the guards, and again commenced as on the previous evening. He took from his pocket a bit of paper and put into my hand, and at the same time saying, "Take this, it may some day be of service to you, remember it is from a friend," and left me instantly. I unfolded the paper, and found it to be a 100 dols. Bank note, on the United States Branch Bank, at Philadelphia. My first impulse was to give it to my mistress, but upon a second thought, I resolved to seek an opportunity, and to return the hundred dollars to the stranger. Therefore, I looked for him, but in vain; and had almost given up the idea of seeing him again, when he passed me on the guards of the boat and walked towards the stem of the vessel. It being now dark, I approached him and offered the money to him. He declined, saying at the same time, "I gave it to you—keep it." "I do not want it," I said. "Now," said he, "you had better give your consent for me to purchase you, and you shall go with me to France." "But you cannot buy me now," I replied, "for my master is in New Orleans, and he purchased me not to sell, but to retain in his own family." "Would you rather remain with your present mistress, than be free?" "No," said I. "Then fly with me to-night; we shall be in Mobile into two hours from this, and when the passengers are going on shore, you can take my arm, and you can escape unobserved. The trader who brought you to New Orleans exhibited to me a certificate of your good character, and one from the minister of the church to which you were attached in Virginia; and upon the faith of these assurances, and the love I bear you, I promise before high heaven that I will marry you as soon as it can be done.' This solemn promise, coupled with what had already transpired, gave me confidence in the man; and rash as the act may seem, I determined in an instant to go with him. My mistress had been put under the charge of the captain; and as it would be past ten o'clock when the steamer would land, she accepted an invitation of the captain to remain on board with several other ladies till morning. I dressed myself in my best clothes, and put a veil over my face, and was ready on the landing of the boat. Surrounded by a number of passengers, we descended the stage leading to the wharf and were soon lost in the crowd that thronged the quay. As we went on shore we encountered several persons announcing the names of hotels, the starting of boats for the interior, and vessels bound for Europe. Among these was the ship *Utica*, Captain Pell, bound for Havre. "Now," said Mr. Devenant, "this is our chance." The ship was to sail at twelve o'clock that night, at high tide; and following the men who were seeking passengers, we went immediately on board. Devenant told the captain of the ship that I was his sister, and for such we passed during the voyage. At the hour of twelve the *Utica* set sail, and we were soon out at sea.

"The morning after we left Mobile, Devenant met me as I came from my state-room and embraced me for the first time. I loved him, but it was only that affection which we have for one who has done us a lasting favour: it was the love of gratitude rather than that of the heart. We were five weeks on the sea, and yet the passage did not seem long, for Devenant was so kind. On our arrival at Havre, we were married and came to Dunkirk, and I have resided here ever since."

At the close of this narrative, the clock struck ten, when the old man, who was accustomed to retire at an early hour, rose to take leave, saying at the same time, "I hope you will remain with us to-night." Mr. Green would fain have excused himself, on the ground that they would expect him and wait at the hotel, but a look from the lady told him to accept the invitation. The old man was the father of Mrs. Devenant's deceased husband, as you will no doubt long since have supposed. A fortnight from the day on which they met in the grave-yard Mr. Green and Mrs. Devenant were joined in holy wedlock; so that George and Mary, who had loved each other so ardently in their younger days, were now husband and wife. Without becoming responsible for the truthfulness of the above narrative, I give it to you, reader, as it was told to me in January last, in France, by George Green himself.

A celebrated writer has justly said of woman—"A woman's whole life is a history of the affections. The heart is her world; it is there her ambition strives for empire; it is there her avarice seeks for hidden treasures. She sends forth her sympathies on adventure; she embarks her whole soul in the traffic of affection; and if shipwrecked, her case is hopeless—for it is a bankruptcy of the heart."

Mary had every reason to believe that she would never see George again; and although she confesses that the love she bore him was never transferred to her first husband, we can scarcely find fault with her for marrying Mr. Devenant. But the adherence of George Green to the resolution never to marry, unless to his Mary, is, indeed, a rare instance of the fidelity of man in the matter of love. We can but blush for our country's shame, when we recall to mind the fact, that while George and Mary Green, and numbers of other fugitives from American Slavery, can receive protection from any of the Governments of Europe, they cannot return to their native land without becoming slaves.—*From William Wells Brown's 'Three Years in Europe,' &c.*

THE following lines, sent us (*Evening Post*) from a neighbouring State, appear to have a special meaning and application, which our readers, we think, will easily make out for themselves:

The Apostate.

"But now a king—now thus."
—[*King John, Act V., Sc. VII.*

'Twas the last hope of his craving ambition,
'Twas the last stake in that desperate game;
All now is lost—save a lasting contrition,
Or, what is worse, a self-glorying shame.
From the great height of his Fame, when the Devil
Showed him a kingdom, and offered him power,
O'er his good thoughts all his passions held revel,
He worshipped the Tempter, and fell in that hour.

We, who had seen him in life's prime of morning
Go forth to battle, the first in the van,
With his great forehead and eyes thunder-warning,
Striking for liberty, justice and man,
Welcomed him back, from his victories returning,
Proud of our hero, rejoiced in his might,
Saw him at last come in pity and mourning,
Faithless to freedom, and false to the aight.

No scar he bore on his breast—we had taken
Pride in defeat had he fought as of yore—
Purchased and bribed, he our cause had forsaken,
Trampled the flag once so proudly he bore.
Worse, he himself had forsaken—had yielded
Principles all his long life had proclaimed,
Worse yet, he lied to us, tempted us, wielded
His power to seduce us, unblushing, unshamed.

Dared to lift up for the false and the specious
The voice that so often had split them in twain,
Strove with pretences to snare us and leash us,
And tasked for our ruin the strength of his brain.
Vainly—the heart from the head had deserted,
Crushed was the power truth alone can bestow;
Faith in himself from his words had departed,
How could we trust to him then—let him go.

What unto him was an office or station,
That he for them friends and fame should betray,
Crouching for votes at the feet of the nation,
Flinging his birth-right of honour away.
Ah! that our leader so humbly should follow,
Holding for tyrants the lash and the chain;
Weak sounds that voice—once so mighty—and hollow
Rings every word to their clanking refrain.

He to turn Judas to liberty, veiling
The treason he did with pretences as bad,
Who would not mourn it—the angels make wailing
Over such fall—only devils are glad.
We still shall struggle, though he has deserted,
Grieving to lose that great eloquent voice;
Yet is not hope from our efforts averted,
Freedom shall triumph despite of his choice.

Yes, let him go! there is no more returning,
No more regaining the height he has lost,
After him follow both pity and scorning—
The Rubicon past can be never recrossed—
At bay with the world, betrayed as betraying,
No hope of the future, no joy in the past,
Pride alone, and that false, on him ceaselessly preying,
Is it thus we behold our great leader at last?

Yes let him go; but with sorrow and mourning—
Never again shall that glory be thine,
Once we beheld—fallen star of the morning!
Worth on thy brow like an aureole shine.
Dogged by remorse, not less keen though unspoken,
Sunk in thy grave, all thy sacrifice vain,
God is not balked, and his law is unbroken
That right shall prevail, and that justice shall reign.

Rush to the wine-cup, drink deeper and deeper,
Drowning in drunkenness thoughts that are fiends;
Sink to low friends—be a boaster and creeper,
Dwarfing thy nature to pettiest ends.
Fly at small game, thou once towering eagle,
Jaded and haggard, and spoiled of thy state,
Spread all thy nets for applause, and inveigle
Fawners, thy greedy ambition to sate.

No, rather rouse thee, to freedom renewing
The pledges of manhood—ambition cast off!
Though of the past there can be no undoing,
Drag not thy life out a warning and scoff—
Call on thy pride, if thy virtue's departed,
Though we no longer can feed them on faith,
Live not a slave by thy passions perverted,
And creep not at last so abjectly to death.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

THE *Ami de la Patrie* of the Puy-de-Dome announces the death, on the 10th ult., of the Countess de Murat, wife of Count de Murat, expeer of France, at the chateau of Euval.

——GARIBALDI.—The *Official Gazette of Savoy*, of the 19th, states that a letter has been received at Genoa from a friend of Garibaldi, who relates that the latter, having made several voyages between Callao (Peru), and Canton, has realized a sufficient sum from the sale of guano to purchase the vessel under his command that he has hoisted the Sardinian flag, and intends visiting the Mediterranean.

——THE Queen of England, by her warrant of the 6th of August last, has granted to Caroline Southey, the widow of the late poet laureate, a yearly pension of £200, "in consideration," as in the warrant is set forth, "of her late husband's eminent literary merits." A like warrant of the 9th of the same month, confers a pension of £75 a year on Miss Louisa Stuart Costello, "in consideration of her merits as an authoress, and her inability, from the state of her health, to continue her exertions for a livelihood."

——A WITTY contributor to the *Gateshead Observer* announces the discovery of a new property of the circle. It is many years since Wilson, the American runner, began his practice on a circle, of which he gradually diminished the diameter, increasing his own speed at the same time, until, as is well known, he was at length successful in catching a sight of his own back! Latterly, however, "with increased practice in the art, he has attained greater speed on a similar circle, and the sight of his own back in advance has become familar to him. But what will our readers think when we say, that in his recent performances at Liverpool he succeeded in *hitting it with a stick!!!* He says that it ran for some seconds afterwards with a visibly accelerated speed!"

——HOW CANADA OBTAINED ITS NAME.—The origin of the word Canada is curious enough. The Spaniards visited that country previous to the French, and made particular searches for gold and silver, and finding none, they often said among themselves "Aca nada" (there is nothing here). The Indians, who watched closely, learned this sentence and its meaning. After the departure of the Spaniards, the French arrived, and the Indians, who wanted none of their company, and supposed they also were Spaniards, come on the same errand, were anxious to inform them that their labour was lost by tarrying in that country, and incessantly repeated to them the Spanish sentence, "Aca nada." The French, who knew as little of Spanish as the Indians, supposed this incessantly recurring sound was the name of the country, and gave it the name of Canada, which it has borne ever since.

——IT is said that the Government are about to create a new batch of Peers. Eight years ago our present Chancellor of the Exchequer put these words into the mouth of a Manchester manufacturer, addressing the grandson of a duke (see "Conningsby"—"Ancient lineage! I never heard of a peer with an ancient lineage. The real old families of this country are to be found among the peasantry; the gentry, too, may lay claim to some old blood. I can point you out Saxon families in this country who can trace their pedigree beyond the conquest; I know of some Norman gentlemen whose fathers undoubtedly came over with the Conqueror. But a peer with an ancient lineage is to me quite a novelty. No, no; the thirty years of the Wars of the Roses freed us from those gentlemen. I take it after the battle of Tewkesbury, a Norman baron was almost as rare a being in England as a wolf is now."—*London News.*

——BRITISH MUSEUM.—A report from Mr. Panizzi gives an account of the present condition of the Department of Printed Books in the British Museum. Mr. Panizzi states that at the end of the year 1846, the library of printed books consisted of 230,000 volumes. At this moment it consists of 465,000, and by the end of the present year it will amount to 470,000 volumes. During the last fifteen years, the library has therefore increased at the rate of 16,000 vols. a year on the average. The superficial extent of the shelves in the whole library, that is, of all that is now occupied and intended for printed books, exclusive of what is set apart for newspapers in the basement, amounts to 55,400 superficial feet. The difficulties and inconveniences to be overcome are two-fold: 1. How to provide room for doubling this library in the next thirty years (for that is what is required to render it worthy of its name and country); 2. How to provide room for about 80,000 vols; that is, for more volumes than are contained in the King's Library, which ought to be added to the library during the next five years, the time which, it is assumed, will be required for the building, which is to contain about 480,000 volumes, the number which, it is likewise assumed, will have to be added to the library in the course of the next thirty years.

OLYMPIC THEATRE (LONDON) — *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has been successfully dramatised at this house. The piece begins with the outside of *Unele Tom's* cabin, where all is mirth and happiness, until the arrival of *George Harris*, a mulatto slave, (Mr. W. Farren, jr.), who is in despair at the prospect of being separated from his wife, *Eliza*, (Mrs. Walter Lacey), and her child; and he resolves to fly to Canada until he has obtained by labour sufficient money to purchase their freedom, and he accordingly sets off on his journey. The next scene is the parlour of *Mr Shelby* (Mr. C. Bender), who, being in pecuniary difficulties, is obliged to sell *Uncle Tom* to *Haley* (Mr. Hoskins), and throw the child of *Eliza* into the bargain. The mother is so shocked at the idea of being parted from her child, that she resolves upon making her escape and taking her child with her. She also directs her steps towards Canada; but she cannot quit without calling at *Uncle Tom's* cabin to take leave of him, and she at the same time informs *Uncle Tom* that he has been sold to *Haley*. The pursuit, to use a pantomime phrase, now commences, and the fugitives arrive in a heavy shower of rain at "the ferry house of the Ohio," where they are speedily followed by *Haley*, accompanied by *Tom*, who slyly facilitates their escape, the success to which is rendered completely successful by a very substantial blow from *George's* cudgel on the head of the pursuer, whose consequent fall is immediately followed by that of the curtain, and concludes the first act. The second act commences with the appearance of *Mr. Bird*, a senator of the United States, who has been making a most powerful speech, and helped to carry a law for punishing all persons who succour runaway slaves; but *Mrs. Bird* is supposed, in the lapse of time which has taken place between the acts, to have done that service to *Eliza* and her child, and they are then in the house. *Mr Bird* finds this most inconvenient under existing circumstances; but his humanity proves too strong for his love of the new law, and he agrees to give them the assistance they require to enable them to reach their destination; but before this can be effected their old foe arrives, and demands the child, which he ultimately takes away, and the mother madly rushes after him. The next scene is *Haley's* house, surrounded by plantations. *Haley* is discovered attended by his negroes, and being, as he says, taken with a most unusual fit of indulgence, gives them leave to dance for half an hour—an indulgence of which they avail themselves in a manner much more energetic than characteristic. *Eliza* now comes in to embrace her child, when she is claimed by *Haley*, who proposes to make her his wife. This offer she scornfully rejects—force is about to be used—when *George* presents himself as her husband, to protect her, and declares himself, his wife, and child, entitled to their freedom, as he and his wife were born of free parents. The assertion is treated with derision by *Haley*, and *George*, by his orders, is seized, and tied to a tree, and *Uncle Tom* appointed to flog him, which *Uncle Tom* refuses to do; and just as *Haley* is about to proceed to extremities, *Mr. Shelby* appears, and charges *Haley* with having been an accomplice in robbing a traveller of a mortgage, by which means he had been enabled to purchase his slaves—the traveller who was thus deprived of his property turns out to be *Mr. Bird* himself. *Haley* walks away in custody, and *Uncle Tom* and all the rest return to the estate of *Mr. Shelby*, where they are all made happy and free. The deviations from the original story, it will be perceived, are not for the better, and great disappointment will be felt at poor *Uncle Tom*, who is here represented as a mere chubby, rollicking, funny nigger. Mr. Hoskins played the disagreeable part of the slave speculator, *Haley*, very well. Mr. W. Farren, jr., represented *George Harris* with much energy and effect; and Mrs. Walter Lacey deserves much commendation for her exertions in the part of *Eliza*: and the *Uncle Tom* of Mr. G. Cooke was as good as the author permitted it to be. The piece was well got up, and will probably have a run. The house was well filed, and the principal actors, as well as the "author," were called before the audience.

——ORIGIN OF THE STARS AND STRIPES.—Jarltzberg wishes to know the origin of the stars and stripes in the American flag. His Query might be answered briefly by stating that the American Congress, and the 14th of June, 1777, "Resolved that the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternately red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." But your correspondent wishes to know the origin of the combination, and who first suggested the idea. Some have supposed that it might have been derived from the arms of General Washington, which contain three stars in the upper portion, and three bars running across the escutcheon. There is no means of knowing at this day whether this conjecture is correct, but the coincidence is rather striking. There were several flags used before the striped flag by the Americans. In March, 1775, "a Union flag with a red field," was hoisted at New York upon the liberty pole, bearing the inscription "George Rex and the liberties of America," and upon the reverse "No Popery." On the 18th of July, 1778, Gen. Putnam raised, at Prospect Hill, a flag bearing on one side the Massachusetts motto "*Qui transtulit sustinet*," on the other, "An Appeal to Heaven." In October of the same year the floating batteries at Boston had a flag with the latter mot